

**TOURISTS' VOICES:
A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF TOURISTS' EXPERIENCES IN CHALKIDIKI,
NORTHERN GREECE**

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ABSTRACT

Much of the writing on tourism treats the tourist as an object of analysis rather than as a subject with feelings, experiences, memories and stories to tell. The tourist is often conceptualised as a unitary type, who, like an inmate in a closed institution, is confined to a tourist bubble. Operating with a one-dimensional view of the tourist and an oversimplification of the touristic experience are major failings of existing social studies.

Ethnographic evidence from Chalkidiki suggests that the tourist is a polymorphous consumer, and that different types of tourists experience the same host community in different ways. Analysis of qualitative data obtained from eighty-six participants have been clustered into five types - the Cultural Heritage, the Raver, the Shirley Valentine, the Heliolatrous and the Lord Byron. Each of these clusters are characterised by the dominant themes identified by participants for their choice of holiday, the types of holiday activities they indulged in, and the views they expressed about the host community.

This study challenges the interpretation found in the literature that the isolated tourist cannot achieve an 'authentic' experience of the visited host community. It provides evidence to show that repeat visitors to Chalkidiki can achieve an 'authentic' experience interacting with local people. In recognising the value of the concept of authenticity in articulating this modern experience, the study also offers an interpretation of authenticity which makes a distinction between 'other-directed' and 'freedom-directed' authenticity for understanding this phenomenon. This conceptualisation of authenticity informs the discussion of participants' experiences in Chalkidiki. One of the key findings is that tourists enact and consume different stories of Chalkidiki and that their experiences must be seen in the context of these stories.

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CHAPTER ONE

The Chalkidiki Study and its Aims

1.1 Introduction

"Going on holiday" is part of most people's organisation of time over the course of the year.....To stay at home is to be pitied; to travel away at least once a year is part of the modern experience.'

(Urry, 1989: 256)

Large numbers of people travelling long distances for their holiday is a relatively recent phenomenon (Cohen, 1972; Urry, 1989 and 1991). Before the end of the Second World War, foreign travel was a luxury available only to the privileged few. However, in the last fifty years, the nature of this 'pleasure industry' has changed dramatically. Rising living standards in many Western societies, have 'made travelling for pleasure a possibility for large numbers of people' (Cohen, 1972: 166). A two week holiday has become the norm for a large proportion of the working population in Western industrialised societies (de Kadt, 1984; Mathieson and Wall, 1984; Wood and House 1991; Ryan, 1991; Butler and Pearce, 1993). In particular, the development of mass air transport has led to the creation of inexpensive and inclusive package holidays ¹.

The advent of such holidays at 'bargain prices' has contributed to the 'democratisation of travel', with holiday destinations such as Chalkidiki, Northern Greece becoming very popular (Urry, 1991). Indeed, low-cost holiday packages are the preferred vehicle for the majority of foreign visitors to Greece, with half of all arrivals occurring mainly in the summer months of July and August (Skiadas, 1990; Leontidou, 1991; Komilis, 1994).

¹ In 1990, international arrivals totalled about 415 million. According to the WTO's (1991) projection, international arrivals are expected to rise to c.637 million by 2000 (Pearce, 1995: 229). For the increasing social significance of tourism and its assessment as a global activity, see Hawkins (1993).

1.2 Situating the Chalkidiki Study

a) Tourism and Tourists

The academic literature on tourism is large, diverse and fragmented. As a phenomenon, tourism has been approached from a variety of disciplinary perspectives, including sociology, geography, psychology, anthropology and economics, as well as being the subject of a number of multidisciplinary studies (Pearce, 1982; Dann and Cohen, 1991; Burns and Holden, 1995)². Much of the writing on tourism treats the tourist as an object of analysis rather than as a subject with feelings, experiences, memories, and stories to tell.

Several studies represent the touristic experience as a 'product' purchased at a price. This product is often conceptualised as comprising travel to and from a holiday destination, accommodation, a combination of services, holiday activities, hospitality, landscapes, religious ceremonies, and other aspects of local culture and lifestyle (e.g., Mathieson and Wall, 1984; Poon, 1993; Przeclawski, 1993). The treatment of tourism as a 'product' is, however, too limited. It is the contention of this thesis that the scholarly study of tourism is impoverished by the absence of sustained and empirical consideration of this 'product' from the tourists' points of view.

b) Research Aims

The aims of this study were:

- 1) To gain an understanding of tourists' experiences.
- 2) To explore empirically the concept of 'authenticity'.

² For a review of each of these approaches see Farrell and Runyan (1991) and for the specific field of the sociology of tourism see Dann and Cohen (1991).

To this end an ethnographic study was conducted over several summers (between 1993 and 1996) in Kalimeria, a tourist destination in Chalkidiki, Northern Greece (see map of Greece, Appendix H). This thesis presents the results of this study and develops a fresh perspective on the touristic experience.

1.3 The Sociological Study of Tourism

Twenty-six years ago Cohen (1972: 164) complained about the lack of sociological interest in tourism and tourists' experiences. As he noted, 'tourism is so widespread and accepted today, particularly in the Western world that we tend to take it for granted'. More recently, Lanfant (1993: 171) expressed concern about this lack of sociological interest in the following terms:

'The relationship between sociology and tourism is a never-ceasing source of amazement. It is a relationship that should be self-evident since it is a well-known fact that tourism, as a social practice and a representation, as well as a system of action and decision-making is becoming an increasingly important dynamic of contemporary societies. However, the marriage between sociology and tourism is fraught with difficulties.'

This concern about the avoidance of any sustained sociological engagement with the subject and its trivialisation by social thinkers is echoed in other recent studies (e.g., Burns and Holden, 1995). Furthermore, while the 'sociology of tourism' was founded in the late 1960s, early social studies have come about primarily as 'a spin-off' from other research (Crick, 1989; Lanfant, 1993). As Lanfant (*ibid.*: 73) has observed, researching tourism and tourists:

'resembles more and more that 'elsewhere' of Michael Foucault, everything overloaded with complex figures, entangled paths, strange sites, secret passages and unforeseen communications.'

The underdevelopment of the social analysis of people 'having fun' is in part due to the negative image associated with this phenomenon. Tourism often has a 'frivolous side' and as Crick points out, social scientists, including sociologists, have tended to avoid its study because it is perceived as 'trivial' and therefore 'detrimental to their efforts to maintain their image as serious scholars' (Crick, 1989: 313). The paradox is, that despite the view that technical studies of tourism are a 'commodity' which can be nicely wrapped and sold to policy makers and to the industry itself, sociologists still appear to be reluctant to study this modern cultural phenomenon ³.

The failure to take the sociological study of tourism seriously until recently, may well relate to deeply 'embedded values in Western society about play and work. Protestant cultural prescriptions have emphasised the value of hard work...' (Pearce, 1982: 2). This may explain, why play and leisure have been devalued as 'cultural pursuits which in turn may be responsible for the lack' of sustained research interest (Pearce, *ibid.*). Similar observations on the marginal status of the sociological study of tourism as well as on its inadequate theoretical base, have been made by several other scholars (e.g., Urry, 1991; Rojek, 1993). Carrying out research on people 'having fun' ⁴ is still regarded by social thinkers as a 'bizarre' and 'trivial activity' (Burns and Holden, 1995:1).

1.4 Tourism as a 'Leisure Activity'

While there is 'little substance' (Urry, *ibid.*) to the sociological study of this modern phenomenon, the existing literature shows that 'tourism' is frequently conceptualised as

³ On this issue of knowledge as a 'commodity', see Lyotard (1984).

⁴ This prejudice is entertainingly explored in David Lodge's novel, *Paradise News* (1992).

a 'leisure activity' (MacCannell, 1976; Urry, 1991; Krippendorf, 1991; Ryan, 1991, 1994 and 1997; Horna, 1994; Rojek, 1995). Consistent with this view, this study conceptualises tourism as a leisure activity, selected by choice, which involves a journey and a short period of stay in a foreign place for the purpose of pleasure (Wickens, 1996 and 1997).⁵

A defining characteristic of 'leisure' is that it involves a change, something different from the normal routines and obligations of day-to-day living. Linked with this is the widely held belief that the essence of leisure is its comparative 'freedom' from societal constraints and that it takes place in 'genuine' free time (Graburn, 1977; Pfaffenberger, 1983; Shields, 1992). Conceptualised in this way, tourism may be seen as a leisure activity. The term 'tourism' carries with it notions of 'carefree' time to pursue the pleasures and enjoyments of one's own choosing, while at the same time, providing the individual with the opportunity for rest and recovery from the demands of every-day-life. By focusing on tourism as a leisure activity, this study attempts to shed some light on the neglected topic of how people actually give meaning to their touristic experience.

1.5 Images of Tourists

A literature survey (see Chapter Three) reveals that many scholars operate with an undeveloped definitions of the term 'tourist'. The need for such a definition typically goes unrecognised. Lack of conceptual clarity with regard to this term has meant that researchers have had difficulty in answering the question 'Who is a Tourist?' (Lundberg, 1985). Many practitioners appear content to deploy the term 'tourist', albeit implicitly,

⁵ It should be noted that this definition excludes people travelling for business purposes.

as a label for a 'colourful-T-shirt-shorts-and-camera-round-his-neck' stereotype in their analysis of the touristic experience (Cohen, 1979b; Feifer, 1985).

Feifer (1985: 219) caricatures this simplistic conceptualisation of the 'tourist'. 'In his straw hat, loud Hawaiian shirt, and Bermuda shorts' he is:

'armed for action. He has a camera slung round his neck and a wad of bills in his pocket. But, like a newborn chick to its mother hen, he stays close to the big bus. Nobody knows his name..... staggering off the bus in yet another quaintly imposing grand place, he has no way to identify where he is except by dazedly scrutinizing his itinerary - blinking, he utters the familiar caption, 'If it's Tuesday, this must be Belgium'.....universally 'distasteful' but every marketer's favorite dish, he's simply and starkly the tourist.

What is also striking about the existing literature, is that 'the tourist' is primarily known 'by how many nights he spent at his hotel, what quantity of chips he consumed, the number of trips he made to museums as against trips to the beach' (Feifer, *ibid.*: 223). As Pearce rightly points out, the tourist is often conceived as 'a money-dispensing machine which requires regular serving' (Pearce, 1982: 7). Perhaps the definitional vagueness of the term 'tourist' is symptomatic of an inability to take seriously the orientation of the tourist.

Also of interest is that the modern tourist, as opposed to the traveller of the past, is often portrayed either as a 'gullible sightseer' (e.g., Boorstin, 1964) or as a serious 'contemporary pilgrim' (e.g., MacCannell, 1976). Operating with an over-simplification of the touristic experience is a major failing of existing social studies. Evidence from Chalkidiki indicates that the 'tourist' is a polymorphous consumer and, more importantly, that different 'types' of tourists experience the same host community in a variety of different ways.

1.6 Theoretical Discourses: A Synoptic View

Notwithstanding the definitional problem associated with the term 'tourist', the touristic experience is often conceptualised as a 'commodity' purchased by the consumer prior to going away. By implication, the meaning of a tourist's holiday may be found in the travel brochures and holiday itinerary (Urry, 1991; Watson and Kopachevsky, 1996). However, while an analysis of travel brochures may be necessary in order to gain an insight into contemporary tourism, on its own it is insufficient for a full understanding of this complex cultural phenomenon. For instance, the argument that tourists are controlled and manipulated by tour operators, and that the touristic experience is a 'standardised', or 'mass produced product', and hence that it is 'inauthentic' and 'superficial', perhaps reveal more about the ideological backgrounds of the researchers, than about the touristic experience. These accounts tell us very little about the meanings attached to a holiday by the key participants, i.e., the tourists. Moreover, these studies implicitly deny an individual any will or power to structure their experiences. Such 're-interpretations' constitute a 'separate reality', a reality imposed by the researcher alone, a reality which does not take into account tourists' narratives of a host-community and its people⁶.

Another feature of the existing literature is that the majority of sociological studies concentrate on the producers of the traveller's experiences rather than on the consumers themselves. For instance, Urry's work (1991) is primarily concerned with the production of the 'tourist gaze' and thus, in my view, he pays too little attention to the

⁶ On the issue of 're-interpretation', see Woolgar (1991).

meanings that tourists themselves give to their holiday activities. Indeed, the voices of 'ordinary visitors', as Pearce (1982) points out, are rarely heard.

Furthermore, a review of the literature shows that there is a tendency among researchers to adopt one of two opposing orientations in their analysis of the touristic experience. One perceives the tourist as 'the prisoner of the package tour' and consequently, the touristic experience is characterised as a 'pseudo event', and as an extension of an 'alienated' world (Boorstin, 1964). The other point of view conceptualises the tourist as 'a pilgrim' and tourism as a search for 'authenticity', an escape from an 'alienated' world (MacCannell, 1973 and 1976). These two orientations are best seen as the ends of a spectrum of opinion with a range of views lying somewhere between them (Cohen, 1979a).

The treatment of package holidaymakers as passive spectators, who enjoy 'contrived attractions' and 'pseudo events' is found in several studies (Turner and Ash, 1975). 'Pseudo events', including staged performances of traditional dances or ceremonies, are said to be designed to convince tourists that they are experiencing an authentic 'traditional' way of life which has actually disappeared as a result of the democratisation of foreign travel. A related assertion is that all tourists are physically and socially isolated from the host community, remaining in and around the tourist 'bubble'. This 'bubble' comprises a hotel complex, offering foreign visitors a range of facilities, including restaurants serving western-style food, souvenir shops, bars and discos. The whole system, it is said, is programmed to make the foreign visitor's stay enjoyable, free

from any problems or any unpleasant experiences. Visitors are seen as experiencing the host community from the security of these purpose-built tourist bubbles.

This view of the package holidaymaker as a 'passive consumer' of pseudo-events currently dominates the theoretical discourse concerning the visitors' experience of a host community. For instance, Carrol asserts that the tourist is merely 'confined to a repeating series of jumbo jet flights, international airport interludes, air-conditioned taxi rides and International Hilton stops' (quoted in Rojek, 1993: 176). From this point of view, visitors rarely have any real contact with the host community. The tourist is effectively a silent figure in the analytical landscape of several sociological studies. Clearly, such interpretations not only ignore differences in tourists' experiences, but more importantly, they perceive the tourist as a unitary type, who like an inmate in an institution such as a prison, is confined to a tourist bubble.

Hostility towards tourism and tourists and concern for tourism's perceived detrimental socio-cultural effects on traditional societies is found in several studies. For instance, Marxist analysts see modern tourists as the new 'conquerors', as 'colonialists' of the visited host community, and tourism as a form of 'imperialism' (Nash, 1989). These studies are primarily concerned with the impact of tourism on traditional societies, rather than with the tourists per se. Their contribution to our knowledge is rather limited, in that they are based on the unfounded assertion that people visit famous places to take photographs and to buy souvenirs, i.e., that what all tourists want are 'superficial', 'contrived', experiences. For these cultural critics, the 'alienation' caused by the oppressive nature of capitalist societies, is seen as a major impetus for mass tourism.

Critics of tourism frequently portray tourists either as 'sun-tanned destroyers' of traditional cultures, or as 'passive' and 'unadventurous' travellers. For many critics of tourism, the 'travel experience is akin to grazing' and tourists 'mechanically consume whatever the tour operator feeds them' (Rojek, 1993: 175).

By contrast, MacCannell's work presents the tourist as a serious 'pilgrim'. Lkening tourism to a pilgrimage, he maintains that all tourists seek the meaningful and authentic in a similar way to pilgrims in their quest for the sacred. In this theoretical approach, sightseeing is perceived as a form of ritual respect for society. Further, these modern pilgrims are in search of 'authenticity' in places that are untouched by modernity. It is the tourist's quest for authentic experiences, rather than the tourist's demand for superficial experiences (Turner and Ash, 1975) that makes hosts 'stage [the] authenticity' of local attractions. By implication, mass tourism destroys the authenticity of local cultural products and human relations. However, even from this theoretical approach, tourists are insulated in contrived 'tourist spaces' which are presented to them as 'real' i.e., authentic.

As Pearce (1982: 19) has noted, 'MacCannell's documentation of tourists' reactions to the various kinds of tourist space consists of no more than the anecdotes of a handful of informers'. Hence, while MacCannell maintains that his work comprises an 'ethnography' of tourist experience, the voice of the tourist is hardly heard. More importantly, he does not say 'a word about the age, sex, class, nationality' of tourists and this 'leads the reader to wonder if the tourist is real or not' (Schudson, 1979: 1257).

Schudson also notes that places such as beaches have entirely escaped MacCannell's attention.

Many sociological studies have built, explicitly or implicitly, on the assumptions made by cultural critics and by analysts who follow MacCannell's theoretical approach. The insulation, homogenisation/standardisation and superficiality of the tourist's experience are asserted in several studies (Goldberg, 1983; Cohen and Taylor, 1992). Furthermore, MacCannell's theoretical perspective has become a common framework within which the nature of the tourist's experience is analysed. For example, Cohen asserts that the concept of 'authenticity' is a 'pivotal concept for the analysis of contemporary tourism' (Cohen, 1988a: 131). It is also recognised by tour operators who use it to market their product (Dann, 1996a). While there is a substantial body of theoretical work on the range of meanings conveyed by the word 'authenticity', there is hardly any ethnographic work on tourists' perceptions of what constitutes an 'authentic' holiday experience.

Cohen's work has raised a number of questions concerning the term 'authenticity'. As he points out, the concept of 'authenticity' requires closer attention. It requires empirical work on tourists' expectations of their holiday, tourists' activities, as well as on the actual meanings attributed to their experiences by the tourists themselves. Fieldwork over several summers in Chalkidiki aimed to gather such data.

The view that the tourist is a polymorphous consumer and, by implication, that different types of tourists consume different modes of experience is found in a number of studies (Cohen, 1979a; Yiannakis and Gibson, 1992). In an attempt to integrate a number of

conflicting interpretations of the nature of the touristic experience, Cohen proposed a five-fold categorisation: the 'Recreational Mode', the 'Diversionary Mode', the 'Experiential Mode', the 'Experimental Mode', and the 'Existential Mode'. The recreational tourist 'enjoys his trip, because it restores his physical and mental powers' (Cohen, *ibid.*: 183). The recreational tourist's experience is conceptualised as a 'form of mass entertainment such as the cinema, theater, or television' (Cohen, *ibid.*: 183). By implication, the recreational tourist is viewed as a passive observer who, 'like the audience of a play', is not interested in the authenticity of the 'other', but who thrives on what Boorstin calls 'pseudo events' (Cohen, *ibid.*: 184). The diversionary mode of tourist experience is similar to the recreational. The tourist is said to desire a break from the boredom and 'meaninglessness' of everyday life. Escaping from the 'alienation' of the industrial and urban society, the diversionary tourist looks for meaning 'elsewhere'. According to Cohen, these two modes of touristic experiences are characteristic of the 'institutionalised tourist', that is, package holidaymakers who make use of the facilities offered by tour operators.

Cohen's experiential tourist is similar to MacCannell's type of tourist, searching for authenticity in the 'other'. The experimental mode of the touristic experience is characteristic of the 'drifter', whom he calls the 'non-institutionalised tourist' i.e., an independent traveller. Drifters make their own arrangements for their trips and avoid contact with an artificially constructed tourist resort. This type of tourist seeks alternative life styles. Finally, the existential mode of touristic experience is characteristic of the traveller who chooses to 'go native' in a 'new spiritual center' (Cohen, *ibid.*: 190).

While this typology of touristic experience does shed some light on the phenomenon, in my view it is written at too high a level of generality to do justice to the varieties of experiences of the 'institutionalised' tourists. In particular, his account of the recreational tourist is rather shallow and overgeneralised. Cohen focuses his analysis primarily on the functions of tourism, maintaining that it is a 'supplier of strength' for people. Cohen's work is valuable, but more systematic studies are needed so that a better understanding of the varieties of experience of 'institutionalised' tourists' may be gained. This ethnographic study seeks to fill this gap, by focusing on the tourist as a polymorphous consumer.

The theoretical models discussed so far do not consider the 'liminal' nature of some tourists' experiences. Evidence from Chalkidiki shows that Kalimeria is viewed by some tourists as a 'liminal space' which provides them with the opportunities to step outside social conventions. Shields (1992: 150) defines a 'liminal space' as an area where 'strict social conventions..... are relaxed under the exigencies of travel and of relative anonymity and freedom from community scrutiny'. Indeed, evidence from Chalkidiki supports the view that the anonymity and relative freedom from some forms of social constraints that certain tourist types enjoy in the liminal spaces provided by tourist resorts are conducive to the suspension of customary rules of moral conduct (Lett, 1983). While this study recognises the importance of the term 'authenticity' in the analysis of tourists' experiences in Chalkidiki, it also argues that the concept of 'liminality' provides helpful insights into the phenomenon of tourism.

1.7 A Fresh Perspective

This study presents a fresh tourist typology, which challenges the assumption that the 'tourist' is a unitary type. It suggests a five-fold classification - the Cultural Heritage, the Lord Byron, the Raver, the Shirley Valentine, and the Heliolatrous types ⁷. Each of these analytically separate categories, 'brackets off' a set of respondents who exhibit similarities in their 'enactment' of a 'particular role' (Goffman, 1967). In order to develop an understanding of the varieties of the touristic experience, this study deploys concepts drawn from Goffman's work.

A conceptual framework is presented, within which I attempt to answer some of the questions left unresolved by previous studies. My approach is predicated on the view that the tourist industry does not entirely inhibit a tourist's freedom and choice. Using Goffman's theoretical heritage, together with my ethnographic evidence from Chalkidiki, this study suggests, that while tourists commit themselves to play the 'institutionalised' role, they may also choose to play an additional role and enter into one of five scenarios observed in this tourist setting.

While my tourist classification cannot be applied to all tourists and at all times, it has proved useful as an analytical tool in giving structure to my fieldwork in Chalkidiki. Its interpretative value can also be seen in its application to the study of the significance of ethnicity (Lazaridis and Wickens, 1999) and health (Wickens, 1997) in the experiences of certain tourist types. This study gives empirical reaffirmation to Cohen's (1988: 43)

⁷ The names given to these types were 'invented' in the early stages of my fieldwork as helpful mnemonics. They subsequently stuck and I have found it impossible to replace them with suitable 'neutral' and 'scientific' sounding names. It is important to recognise the origin of these names in order not to dismiss them as indexing a process of crude stereotyping. It should also be noted that the 'Shirley Valentine' type has also been found in other holiday destinations. See, for instance, Ryan (1997)

assertion that 'one way to accommodate the various approaches and moderate their extreme images of the tourist is to bring them to a common ground and build typologies which would bridge them'. While I agree with Cohen that the category of 'tourist' is polymorphous, and therefore that different types of tourists consume different modes of experiences of the visited host community, in my view, his analysis of this phenomenon is too global.

1.8 The Organisation of this Dissertation

This thesis is organised into nine chapters. Methodological issues are dealt with in Chapter Two. A brief outline is given of the research strategy adopted, together with a description of its development and refinement in the light of my ethnographic experience. The methodological problems and issues encountered during the study, and how they were resolved are also considered.

The various theoretical approaches to tourists' experiences of a host community are discussed in Chapter Three. It examines critically the arguments of diverse thinkers, assessing the validity of their positions as well as exploring the images of the 'tourist' which figure in their writings. This chapter focuses on the assertion found in previous work that tourists' experiences are regimentally programmed, standardised and homogenised by the tourist industry. In addition, it examines the claim that tourists rarely participate in the lives of the host community. It goes on to argue that cultivating a diversity of investigative approaches may best bring out the complexity of the phenomenon under study.

Existing tourist typologies and their limitations is the focus of Chapter Four. There is a considerable body of literature, which shows that not all theorists view the tourist as a self-evident and homogeneous category. However, I would argue that classifying tourists in terms of distance travelled, or in terms of numbers travelling, is limited in explanatory power when applied to the range of 'institutionalised' tourists found in Chalkidiki. One contribution that has been of considerable value is Cohen's (1972) tourist typology. His work provided the vocabulary which initially guided this research.

Chapter Five introduces the research setting. The transformation of Kalimeria from a fishing and farming village into a bustling seaside holiday resort is discussed and some background information on the development of tourism in Greece and Chalkidiki is presented. This background information is important to the development of an understanding of the ethnographic data gathered in this study. In addition, this chapter presents the profile of tourists as revealed by a survey, carried out during the summers of 1995 and 1996.

Using the ethnographic data collected over a period of four years, Chapter Six introduces the study's five-fold classification of tourists - the Cultural Heritage, the Raver, the Shirley Valentine, the Heliolatrous and the Lord Byron. Goffman's concepts of 'role enactment', 'role commitment', 'role attachment' and 'role embracement' are deployed in developing a theoretical framework for understanding the differences between these types.

Divided into three parts, Chapter Seven allows tourists' voices to be heard. In the first part, the role of authenticity in shaping the experience of a traditional Greek evening entertainment is examined. Tourist participation in the holiday scenarios of the Lord Byron, Cultural Heritage, Raver, Shirley Valentine and Heliolatrous is the main theme in the second part of this Chapter. The evidence shows that tourism as an experience varies according to the expectations and motivations of the individual tourist. The evidence conflicts with the assertion that all tourists seek 'authenticity' (MacCannell, *ibid.*). The last part of this chapter considers the 'dark side' of tourists' experiences in Kalimeria.

Chapter Eight focuses the discussion on the concept of 'authenticity' in the explanation of the touristic experience. In recognising the value of the concept in articulating this modern experience, this study offers an interpretation of authenticity centered on an important distinction between 'other-directed' and 'freedom-directed' authenticity. This conceptualisation of authenticity informs the analysis of participants' experiences in Chalkidiki contained in this chapter.

Chapter Nine presents the conclusions of this study. One of the key findings is that tourists enact and consume different stories of Kalimeria and that their experiences must be seen in the context of these stories. Further, this study provides evidence to show that repeat visitors to Kalimeria can achieve what they consider to be an 'authentic' experience by interacting with local people. The Lord Byrons are motivated by the desire to experience spontaneous human contact with their Greek 'friends'.

CHAPTER TWO

Methodology: Approaches, Issues and Problems

2.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the research strategy adopted, its course of development and its refinement in the light of my ethnographic experience. The methodological problems and issues encountered during the study, and how they were resolved, are also considered.

2.2 Getting Started

In Chapter One I attempted to situate this study by reference to previous social studies of tourism, particularly those which adopted a sociological perspective. The perceived shortcomings of these studies effectively defined the approach I wished to adopt in this study. That is, an ethnographic study designed to capture the touristic experience from the tourists' point of view. Almost by definition, therefore, the first methodological problem which I encountered in the start-up phase of this study was that I could not find any social studies of tourism which could act as exemplars ¹. Living in the time of the 'information explosion', it was rather surprising to encounter so few ethnographic studies which were specifically about tourists and their experiences ². It is interesting to note that even after five years of research, although there is a growing body of literature on tourism, our knowledge of this phenomenon still relies primarily on empirical studies which treat 'the tourist' as a homogeneous category and the experience of a visited

¹ Most research work on tourism in Greece is primarily concerned with the factors that inhibit and facilitate the development of tourism (e.g., Loukissas, 1982; Tsartas, 1992; Komilis, 1987 and 1994). The study of foreign visitors' experiences in Greece remains an unduly neglected area in tourism studies, although there is a growing number of publications that discuss the economic and social impact of tourism on the Greek islands.

² Chapter Three contains a full literature review.

place as a pre-packaged product, available at a price. Of more significance to this study, most previous research in the ethnographic mode concentrates on the hosts rather than the tourists and, in particular, on the socio-cultural impact of tourism on the host community (Dann and Cohen, 1991).

Furthermore, my review of the literature revealed that there was a concern about the use of the 'authenticity' concept in explaining the tourists' experience of the visited host community (MacCannell, 1976). A number of attempts have been made to provide a strong theoretical justification for the extension of this concept to the analysis of tourists' experiences, but these remained largely untested by fieldwork ³. As Cohen (1988a) had pointed out, the explanatory value of 'authenticity' needs to be explored through empirical study of tourists' behaviour, motivation and expectations. It requires an investigation of the meanings attributed to their experiences by the main participants, i.e., the tourists.

My reading of the existing body of studies on tourists' experiences led initially to the formulation of the following research concerns:

- What is the nature of the Kalimeria experience?
- Are all tourists isolated from the host community?
- How are tourists' desires and expectations reflected in their behaviour?
- What do tourists themselves say about their holiday experience?

³ Use of the concept of 'authenticity' is still controversial and, as such, has been the subject of an on-going debate since its original use by Boorstin (1964) and MacCannell (1976). This topic is discussed fully in Chapters Three and Eight.

By defining the territory of this ethnographic study, that is, its theoretical and conceptual context, these questions provided a sufficient degree of structure to allow me to get started. They not only directed my observations of tourists during the first year of fieldwork, they also provided a starting point for the dialogue between intuition and findings which, with hindsight, I recognise has gone on throughout this study. This issue of reflexivity in research is discussed below when I relate the history of my fieldwork, but it is necessary to note at this stage, that I entered the field with some conceptions and presuppositions about what tourists' holiday experiences were likely to be in Kalimeria ⁴.

2.3 Adopting a Flexible Approach

Using a fieldwork agenda generated from a set of research questions such as those listed above, seems to be a common feature of ethnographic research, following as it does the academic rule that a library visit precedes a visit to the research setting (see for instance, Agar, 1980; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983; Bernard, 1988; Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Miles and Huberman, 1994). However, at the outset of this project, I had decided not to narrow the focus of the study specifically to one area of the touristic experience. This decision was taken because, as mentioned above, in existing studies, tourists' perspectives and experiences of a visited host community were on the whole 'invisible' (Pearce, 1982; Thornton, 1995). Also, the decision to adopt an open approach was heavily influenced by the study's first aim, which was to gain an understanding of people's perspectives on their holiday experiences in Kalimeria.

⁴ My early understanding of tourism as a leisure activity was particularly shaped by: 'The Tourist', by MacCannell (1976); 'The Tourist Gaze', by Urry (1991); Cohen and Taylor (1992); and, in particular, by Cohen's work (1972, 1974, 1979a, 1979b, 1988a, 1988b). See Chapter Three.

As the study progressed and qualitative data accumulated, the direction of this research project was progressively shaped by themes which emerged from field notes and transcribed interviews with both tourists and Greeks engaged in tourist-related services (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Sperber, 1994). For instance, ethnographic data from the third visit to Chalkidiki lead to serendipitous findings and new themes (e.g., participants' voluntary health risks in pursuit of pleasure). By using such a flexible approach to data collection, the roots of this project are planted in ethnographic research, which is both:

'deductive as well as inductive (because it is guided by theory and other mental constructions of the researcher...), introspective as well as extrospective (because understanding of the other entails understanding of the self), and experimental (because one is actively participating in social life rather than passively recording data)....'

(Peacock, 1986: 89)

This approach enabled me to constantly review and refine my conceptual framework. In this way, the project became progressively focused on certain dimensions of the Kalimeria experience (e.g., main holiday activities, motivations, tourists' perceptions of the community and its hosts) ⁵. Refining the focus of the study was an interactive process, each period of fieldwork being concluded by the 'deskwork' analysis of the data collected ⁶. This is common practice in ethnographic studies (see, for instance, Agar, 1980; Lawless, 1983; Burgess, 1984).

2.4 Research Methods

There is an extensive body of literature on research methodology within which there is an ongoing debate about the relative merits of quantitative and qualitative research

⁵ These are discussed in detail in Chapters Six and Seven.

⁶ For the historicity of my understanding leading to the interpretation of tourists' experiences in Chalkidiki, see Appendix A.

strategies. The nature of social enquiry and its 'scientific' status has been the subject of debate since the advent of sociology in the nineteenth century (see, for example, Levy, 1981; Giddens, 1987; Hammersley, 1990; Kumar, 1991). The positions adopted by individual practitioners vary considerably. For instance, there are those who powerfully argue that these two approaches to research are separate, reflecting different views of social reality. On the other hand, there are those who mix these two approaches in their research. The philosophical and theoretical issues associated with the quantitative and qualitative approaches are discussed in several works (see, for example, Bryman, 1992; Sperber, 1994; Ryan, 1995).

While the debate is ongoing between proponents of these two traditions, some theoretical contributions, particularly those by postmodernist thinkers, have strongly influenced the direction of more recent methodological developments ⁷. Attention has now turned towards the problematic nature of the construction of socio-cultural representations (Clifford and Marcus, 1986; Crick, 1996; Sperber, 1994; Selwyn, 1996). It is argued that reality is socially constructed and, as a consequence, that there are only versions of reality ⁸. These considerations have led to the emergence of a 'hybrid' approach, the defining characteristic of which is the flexibility it allows the researcher in combining both quantitative and qualitative research techniques (see, for example, Bryman, 1992; Miles and Huberman, 1994).

⁷ There are several books on the postmodernist approach to the study of society (see, for instance, Kroker and Cook, 1986; Kellner, 1988; Clifford and Marcus, 1986; Doherty, et. al., 1992). From the methodological standpoint, the postmodernist questions the notion of objective knowledge as well as any claim to absolute truth.

⁸ For a discussion of the theoretical contributions of postmodernist thinkers see, also, Webster (1996).

Bernard (1988: 146-147) makes the following important point in support of the argument for the use of a plurality of methods in fieldwork.

‘There is no real conflict between ethnography and survey research. Each has its strengths and weaknesses. You can’t describe an event, such as a wedding or a political demonstration with survey research. You have almost no control over informants lying to you in survey research. And ethnographic research is far superior to survey research when it comes to describing processes.....Surveys are also a good way to get acquainted with a community you are studying..... to gather basic demographic data and to find out what the major concerns are in a community....’

The view that quantitative and qualitative methods should no longer be seen as exclusive to their traditional methodological ‘clubs’, and that it is ‘possible for a single investigation to use both methods’ is echoed in several works (e.g., Lawless, et al., 1983; Howe, 1988; Best and Kahn, 1989: 89-90). As Miles and Huberman (1994: 4) have observed, ‘in epistemological debates it is tempting to operate at the poles. But in the actual practice of empirical research, we believe that all of us ... are closer to the centre with multiple overlaps.....The paradigms for conducting social research seem to be shifting beneath our feet, and an increasing number of researchers now see the world with more pragmatic, ecumenical eyes’.

Similar views concerning the usefulness of employing both quantitative and qualitative research methods in a single investigation are discussed by several other social thinkers (Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Ryan, 1995). As Strauss and Corbin (ibid.) point out, the distinctions between these two ‘traditional’ approaches are not so precise as was previously believed. In practice the two overlap in that, for instance, questionnaires are often designed to generate both quantitative and qualitative data and qualitative data may be categorised and coded in numeric form. Nowadays, it is not uncommon for researchers to use a plurality of methods (see, also, Burgess, 1984).

2.5 Using a Plurality of Methods

I have, therefore, used both qualitative and quantitative methods in this study in the belief that, in the end:

'all descriptions and analyses of behaviour are inevitably both qualitative and quantitative - although with observational studies the counting and measurement may be implicit. For instance, in observational studies, there are assertions that a pattern of behaviour occurs frequently, often, sometime, seldom, or in many different situations. The issue is not whether one can more easily count or measure with one procedure than with another, but rather whether or not investigators are getting at the fullness and richness of the phenomenon under study.'

(Phillips, 1971: 137)

My methodological thinking was influenced by the theoretical perspective that draws attention to the similarities between qualitative and quantitative data, in that both types of data 'offer representations of what we as individuals perceive of as our reality'

(Blaxter, et al., 1996: 177). As Blaxter, et al., (ibid.) point out:

'It may be that qualitative data offers more detail about the subject under consideration, while quantitative data appears to provide more precision, but both give only a partial description. Neither are 'facts' in anything but a very subjective sense. The accuracy of the representation is also likely to be reduced further during the research process, as we attempt to summarise or draw our key points from the vastness of the data available.'

Reflecting upon my ethnographic experience over the duration of this project, I find myself concurring with the view that research is more like a 'craft than a slavish adherence to methodological rules' (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 5). For instance, the unforeseen constraints I was operating under, and the particular issues which I wished to research, made it necessary to occasionally 'bend the methodology' to suit the peculiarities of this ethnographic study. As Burgess (ibid: 143) points out, we 'need to be flexible' in our 'approach and utilise a range of methods for any problem....strict and

rigid adherence to any method, technique or doctrinaire position may, for the fieldworker, become like confinement in a cage'.

The sections which follow describe my ethnographic experience while, at the same time, elucidating these methodological points further.

2.6 Specific Techniques Deployed

In this study, data were collected using of a variety of techniques, each of which is discussed below.

a) Participant Observation

Participant observation involved talking to individual tourists at opportune times (e.g., during an excursion, or at a taverna) about their holiday activities and experiences. This technique proved particularly suited to gaining information from tourists on how the individual experienced Kalimeria and its people, and was used on a regular basis throughout my fieldwork. I found that paying attention to the terms used by participants to describe, for example, the cultural attractions of the host community, provided valuable insights, giving me an intuitive understanding of the phenomenon under study. The flexibility of this research technique allowed me on several occasions to 'discover' the unfamiliar and the unexpected. I very much doubt whether I could have gained such rich data on sensitive topics such as holiday romances and casual sex, by the use of, for example, formal structured interviews. However, I found that it was not always possible to tape my conversations with participants. For details of the different levels of my

involvement as a participant observer, and on the number of conversational interviews conducted with tourists, see Appendix B ⁹.

b) Semi-Structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with forty-three British tourists. This technique allowed me to have more control over my research agenda, because it provided some structure and direction to the interviews, enabling me to cover the topics I was interested in. At the same time, it allowed participants some freedom to talk in their own terms about their feelings, attitudes and experiences, and to reveal what was of significance to them. This mode of interviewing proved particularly useful, for talking to families and couples in joint interviews. Whenever possible, interviews were taped, or part taped, with the consent of the respondent(s). (See Appendix B.)

Some limitations of this technique must be noted. Although an interview guide was used, it was not always possible to ask sensitive questions about, for example, age and economic status. A copy of the interview guide is at Appendix C. This research technique was mainly used during the third and fourth stages of data collection (1995 and 1996) ¹⁰.

⁹ As an observing participant, I visited the beach on a regular basis. On several occasions direct observations were dictated into a tape-recorder. This technique proved useful during the early stages of my fieldwork (summer 1993), giving me an introductory understanding of the phenomenon under study. (See Table 1, Appendix B.)

¹⁰ For further details, including the methods used for recording interviews, places of interview, etc., see Appendix B.

c) Group Discussions

Group discussions were conducted at barbecue parties held at one small self-catering accommodation unit (twenty-two tourists in total). These groups comprised Austrian nationals (mainly families with young children), who had spent at least one week in the resort. Each group consisted of a sample of voluntary participants, who were self-selected on the basis of their ability to speak English.

This informal approach encouraged participants to talk freely about whatever they wanted. Although it was more like a free flowing everyday conversation, nonetheless, certain topics of interest to my study (e.g., their reasons for choosing Kalimeria as their holiday resort) did emerge. It should be noted that this method of data collection was only employed during the first stage of work (summer 1993). I decided not to make use of group discussions during the next round of data collection for the following reason. While the majority of participants were fluent speakers of English, there was a tendency within a group for participants to speak their native language. This meant that participants' spoken phrases had to be translated for me by their tourist 'rep' and I was, therefore, hearing her representation of what they said.

This approach to gathering data certainly heightened my awareness of the problem of 'validity'. Nonetheless, my brief experience of this technique was useful for exploring some aspects of the phenomenon under study, and for preparing the ground for more systematic fieldwork in the summers of 1995 and 1996.

d) Self-Completed Questionnaire

A small-scale survey (self-completed questionnaire) was undertaken amongst tourists of mainly British and Austrian nationalities. The primary aim of the survey was to build a tourist profile for the village. This was necessitated by the absence of any reliable statistical information on tourists. See Appendix D for a copy of the pilot and final questionnaire. While the response rate was relatively low, this technique proved particularly useful for collecting demographic information (e.g., respondents' age, occupation, etc.) and for gaining some insight into tourists' expectations. The administration of the questionnaire and the problems I experienced in using this research technique are discussed later in this chapter.

e) Other Data Sources

Valuable data was also harvested from the following sources.

- Holiday Brochures, Greek newspapers and magazines.
- Statistical information supplied by the Greek Tourist Organisation (EOT).
- General information on tourist accommodation from the Chalkidiki Hotel Association.
- Material from a semi-structured interview with the President of the Kalimeria.
- Material from a semi-structured interview with one local doctor and one local pharmacist.
- Material derived from conversational interviews with employers and employees in tourist-related services, the majority of whom were temporary residents in Kalimeria, although a minority were British, Austrian or German nationals. For full details of these interviews see Appendix B.

f) Sampling Strategies

The small-scale questionnaire-based survey was designed to gather information from which a tourist profile could be constructed. Because of time and access constraints I decided to include only package holidaymakers from Western European countries. The list of names of potential respondents staying in Hotel D and in a unit of self-catering apartments K provided me with the frame for drawing a random sample, i.e., selecting every fourth tourist resident each Friday.

However, after experiencing a poor response rate ¹¹ over a period of several weeks in 1995, I decided to change the sampling strategy and take a more 'convenient' and self-selected sample. Thus, the results of the questionnaire (presented in Chapter Five) are primarily based on a voluntary sample of 200 respondents. This bending of the methodological rules, was necessitated by the hard realities of fieldwork, which did not allow me to be overly concerned about methodological purity. Had I not adopted this approach, it would not have been possible to construct a tourist profile for Kalimeria¹².

During the summers of 1995 and 1996 samples were chosen for semi-structured interviews. A convenient, and, where ever possible, 'theory-driven', sample of forty three British holidaymakers of varying ages was chosen. As Strauss and Corbin (1990) have pointed out, our choice of respondents, as well as of events, should be driven primarily by our conceptual questions and concerns and not simply by a concern for 'representativeness'. This selection strategy is common amongst practitioners in the field

¹¹ A substantial number of incomplete or partly completed questionnaires were left by tourists in hotel bedrooms. Consequently, a substantial number of questionnaires were lost.

¹² As mentioned previously, there were no reliable official statistics relating to holidaymakers using this resort.

(Burgess, 1984; Veal, 1992). The majority of the interviewees were contacted through my key informants, who included the owner of Hotel D and a tourist guide ¹³. For further details, see Appendix B. The issues associated with gaining access to the people who participated in this study are discussed further below.

Sampling decisions had also to be made when being a 'participant' tourist. For example, when taking part in tourist excursions and Taverna evenings, or when visiting those areas of the beach frequented by British holidaymakers. Quite often, such decisions had to be made 'on the hoof'. For example, if a morning was cloudy, I might visit a bar rather than the beach (a place often frequented by British holidaymakers).

As the study progressed, and new themes emerged, further sampling decisions had to be taken. For example, in order to uncover negative instances (a research strategy advocated by Lindesmith, 1990); or when the theme of 'freedom to do one's own thing', was cross-checked in the field. I shall discuss serendipitous findings in Chapter Eight, but it is important to note that in much of my fieldwork, sampling had a kind of 'rolling' or 'snowballing' quality. (For the use of this sampling technique in ethnographic research, see Agar, 1980; Burgess, 1984; Bernard, 1994) ¹⁴. Thus, the sampling techniques deployed to obtain my qualitative data do not necessarily generate completely representative samples. Consequently, this study cannot lay claim to the complete generality of its findings. Furthermore, selection of the study's samples was

¹³ I am indebted to both of these key informants for their help in facilitating my access to respondents, as well as for their support and enthusiasm for my work.

¹⁴ Snowball sampling is common in ethnographic studies of mobile populations such as tourists, migrants, etc., (Bernad, 1994).

reliant on the 'human factor', i.e., the willing co-operation of hotel owners, tourist 'reps' and all of the holidaymakers who were prepared to participate in this study.

The sampling decisions taken during this study place further limits on the conclusions that can be drawn. For example, my age, gender and cultural background undoubtedly biased my choice of people for conversational interviews. I have noted when interpreting my material, that the majority of participants in my ethnographic conversational interviews were female, a fact only noticed after the event. For further details regarding the study's samples see Appendix B ¹⁵.

2.7 The Research Setting

The locus of my fieldwork was Kalimeria (a pseudonym), a coastal village/resort in Kassandra, Chalkidiki ¹⁶. Kalimeria lies towards the foot of Kassandra, the westernmost peninsula of Chalkidiki, Northern Greece. This resort was well suited for ethnographic research because of its size and the level of tourism development ¹⁷. It is small enough to allow the use of participant observation as the primary method for gathering data, yet sufficiently developed to offer a range of experiences to tourists. Furthermore, Kalimeria attracts package holidaymakers of various nationalities, primarily British, Austrian and Germans but also, more recently, tourists from Eastern

¹⁵ On the important issue of how a researcher's biography may affect the selection of interviewees and, therefore, the findings of ethnographic research, see Ribbens (1990). Hammersley (1992) also discusses how a practitioner may unwittingly shape the data.

¹⁶ Before 1993, I regularly returned to Thessaloniki/Chalkidiki to visit my family and my friends. But for the summers of 1993, 1994, 1995 and 1996, I returned for the purpose of this study. Although I was familiar with some parts of Chalkidiki, Kalimeria was fairly unknown to me.

¹⁷ My choice of this resort was also influenced by the fact that I had purchased an apartment in Kalimeria in June 1993. This held out the possibility of relative ease of access to data. For instance, as an 'insider' (e.g., a native Greek speaker) and a 'friend', I found it easier to gain access to gatekeepers and so to acquire information relevant to this project.

European countries. This meant that semi-structured interviews could be conducted with both English and German speaking respondents.

While most of the research was conducted in Kalimeria, I also travelled extensively around Chalkidiki and other parts of Northern Greece, participating in several organised tourist excursions.

2.8 Fieldwork History

a) First Stage of Data Collection (July - August 1993)

I first entered the fieldwork situation in early July 1993 and spent the first two weeks getting to know the physical and social geography of Kalimeria. Being of Greek origin, it was relatively easy for me to mix in with the locals and to develop contacts within the community. This helped me to gain access to hoteliers and other people who were employed in tourist-related services ¹⁸. In addition, by visiting the resort as a 'participant tourist' I was able to mix in with tourists. Conversational interviews were conducted at various sites, including bars and tavernas in both the old and new parts of the village. Interviews took place mainly during the evenings. These early ethnographic encounters were non-directive. Participants were able to describe and evaluate Kalimeria and to discuss the events, which were of significance to them.

¹⁸ One significant problem which I did encounter during my fieldwork (summer 1993) related to my identity. I was initially seen by the locals as a xeni, i.e., a stranger. I was often addressed as Anglida (English woman), which I took it to imply that I was no longer considered a native, a 'proper Greek'. Nonetheless, once I was accepted, the locals, and in particular 'the gatekeepers', were friendly towards me and willing to help me with my research. This acceptance of my presence was made possible by my developing personal relationships with them, which allowed me to gain their friendship and trust. This acceptance was facilitated by Katerina (a relative of mine). I am very much indebted to her for all her time and support during my research.

However, I found that the use of such an informal approach meant that I was not always able to cover the topics/themes I wished to discuss, e.g., the reasons for choosing Kalimeria as their holiday destination. It was only after several weeks of trial and error, that I perfected the art of unobtrusive interruption, which allowed me to introduce a new topic into a conversation ¹⁹. There were, however, other difficulties associated with such an informal approach. For instance, I found that probing participants was not always easy, as the following extract from a taped conversation with a male holidaymaker illustrates.

E: How do you find Kalimeria?

R: It's very nice.

E: Nice?

R: A very nice small village.

E: Anything else?

R: A small village with some lovely beaches. And there are no big hotels. It has lots of old buildings, which have a lot of character.

And yet on other occasions, I found that little prompting was required. For example:

E: How do you find Kalimeria?

S: It's a very nice little place. It has a great deal of character....nice and clean beaches

It's also very friendly.... because you can get to meet the Greek people. They are

¹⁹ During this first field trip I experienced feelings of anxiety about my ability to collect useable data. My field notes (summer 1993) reveal that I was worried about interviewing 'strangers' and about how to build up sufficient rapport with my respondents. It was only towards the end of July, that I felt comfortable when interviewing tourists who volunteered, but it has to be said that even at this stage I did not always feel in control of the interview situation.

extremely friendly and a little bit inquisitive. They like to know your business, how many children you've got, and where you work, and how much money you earn, how much money you've got in the bank. It's very nice - I hope the Greeks remain like this....

Throughout my fieldwork, I encountered participants who seemed to have some difficulty in either expressing themselves, or who were not willing to keep the conversation going. Despite these difficulties, I felt that adopting an informal approach enabled me to uncover a wealth of stories about tourists' encounters with Greeks and the resort. It also proved useful in gaining 'in-depth understanding' and for researching sensitive topics such as holiday romances. The following extract from a follow-up conversational interview I had with a middle-age female tourist illustrates the point. Our conversation took place at her apartment, after several previous meetings. It should also be noted that this is R's second visit to the resort ²⁰.

R: '...It was a holiday romance. I really, really thought I was in love. I was sure I was in love...I always dreamed about coming back and I wrote to him for about three months.... Anyway, when my marriage broke up then I thought I can go back now, now I'm free. So I came back and it was just as if I had never been away. From the second I saw Kostas, it was back to the same....Yes he is still married. I don't really want him to leave his wife, not because I don't love him, I don't want him to leave her and deprive her - I couldn't really say, 'now leave your wife, I'm ready for you'. So that is that. I'm happy to see him and I love him. I suppose I'll be saying this for the next 40 years.'

²⁰ Pseudonyms are used in order to protect the identity of my informants.

In this mode of research, I found that participants had more control over the direction of our discussions, introducing the topics/themes that they wanted to talk with me about. As I attempted to make sense of the less organised and occasionally repetitive data, I encountered other problems, which are inherent in research of this kind. (I shall discuss the analysis of qualitative data below). A number of these conversational interviews were recorded on audiocassette tape with the consent of the participant. Where a participant was unwilling to be recorded, I kept field notes of our conversation. While laborious and, by comparison with tape recordings, open to some inaccuracy, in the circumstances this was the only method available to me ²¹. See Tables 1 and 2 (Appendix B) for more details regarding the techniques and sites used to gather data during this first round of data collection.

The main objective of this fieldwork was to identify the various 'expectations of pleasure' which motivate tourists' holiday behaviour. However, I also spent a considerable amount of time talking to Greek holidaymakers and people employed in tourist-related services. In addition, other sources of information were utilised, including the Chalkidiki Tourist Authorities, E.O.T. publications, travel brochures, newspaper articles, and travel guides. The information so collected was subsequently analysed in an attempt to explore the way the resort was advertised to foreign visitors. (An analysis of the material from these secondary sources is presented in Chapters Five and Eight.)

This first stage of fieldwork provided the basis for the development of a tentative subdivision of Cohen's (1972) institutionalised-tourist type. My preliminary findings

²¹ On the potential for errors to arise during the recording of data, and for the methodological issue of validity in ethnographic research, see Hammersley (1992).

also provided me with grounds for questioning significant aspects of existing theoretical literature on tourists' experiences. (For a review of this literature, see Chapters Three and Four.)

b) Second Stage of Data Collection (July - August 1994)

During this period only a limited amount of participant observation was undertaken. This was because I was in Kalimeria for a short period of only four weeks. However, familiarity with the research setting, together with my previous experience gave me the confidence to engage selected participants in friendly chats over a drink in a bar. This process of building rapport, particularly with female participants, made it easier to ask for a second informal meeting at a time convenient to them. It also allowed me to ask questions on the more personal aspects of their holiday experiences.

On several occasions, I found myself in the role of 'interpreter', explaining to my interlocutors things which s/he had experienced as 'strange' or 'novel'. For instance, participants would ask me questions about aspects of Greek culture - music, language and food - about the hospitality of their hosts, the political system in Greece, and many other things, which had interested them. On a few occasions, I found myself giving female participants a recipe for their favourite Greek dishes. I also learned to listen to their concerns about the noise and traffic congestion in the village. This two-way process provided me with additional information on the more unpleasant aspects of their holiday experience. It was this that influenced the direction of my research in 1995, in particular to further explore the more negative aspects of the foreign visitors' experiences in Kalimeria (see Table 4, Appendix B).

However, the primary objective of this second visit to Kalimeria was to pilot the survey questionnaire. The ethnographic experience of the previous year was used to develop the questions included in this questionnaire. The original questionnaire consisted of five sections. The first section asked for general information on type of accommodation, holiday companions, length of stay, etc. The second section was concerned with tourists' activities, their impressions of the resort and their experiences of the facilities and services. The third section was on food and drink. (This section was omitted from the final version of the questionnaire). The fourth section focused on the tourists' experiences of Kalimeria and their reasons for choosing this holiday resort. Questions in this section were partly influenced by background reading and, in particular, by theoretical concern relating to the 'authenticity' of visitors' experiences of this host community. The last section asked for demographic information (age, occupation, nationality, etc.) of respondents. The questionnaire was translated into German with the help of both Kathy (a colleague's daughter who had just graduated in German literature/language) and Anker (a tourist guide) who is a native German speaker ²².

In research of this kind the co-operation of tourists and of those employed in tourist-related services is crucial. In total, twelve British (seven women and five men) and ten Germans/Austrians (eight women and two men) participated in the piloting of the questionnaire. It was during this period and throughout the following summers of 1995 and 1996 that I 'discovered', first-hand, some of the difficulties of collecting information amenable to statistical analysis from people who were on holiday. For instance, during the piloting of the questionnaire, I found that some tourists did not want to write at all,

²² I am indebted to both Kathy and Anker for their unstinting help in making sense of tourists' scribbles.

and others answered only parts of the questionnaire. It was therefore deemed expedient to reduce the length of the questionnaire, so as not to cause tourists too much inconvenience. See Appendix D for both the original and final versions of the questionnaire.

During the summer of 1994, further information on tourist facilities and attractions was collected from the President of the Village.

See Tables 3 and 4 (Appendix B), which give further detail of the various data collection exercises undertaken during this stage of fieldwork.

c) Third Stage of Data Collection (July - August 1995)

The previous year had prepared me for a major data gathering exercise in the summer of 1995. Fieldwork during this eight-week period took the form of semi-structured interviews and participant observation. The ethnographic material gathered over the two previous summers was used to develop an interview guide (see Appendix C). Relationships between tourists and Greeks, while not initially a major topic for investigation, had become a recurring theme, which I felt needed further exploration during this third year of fieldwork. Data was also collected systematically on the less pleasant aspects of tourists' experiences.

By now, I was quite familiar with the setting and this familiarity, as well as the insights I had gained from the two previous years' work, made me feel more confident in the field. Inviting tourists for a semi-structured interview, or just a chat over a coffee in a

cafeteria, became an enjoyable experience. On several occasions, local informants (in particular, Sandy, Anker and Katerina) who were all involved in tourist-related services made contact with holidaymakers possible. These collaborators not only facilitated the gathering of data, but they also acted as my field tutors helping me to build a deeper understanding of tourism and tourists. In this way, they helped me validate, in a general sense, my findings.

This feedback on the ‘phenomenological validity’ of my observations (Guba, 1981) was extremely valuable throughout my research in Kalimeria. Bouncing ideas off my key informants (particular during the early stages of fieldwork) was an important learning experience which helped me to shape the ethnographic material and to construct, and progressively refine, my tourist typology (see Chapter Six).

In addition, data were collected using the final version of the self-completed questionnaire. Respondents were briefed on the purpose of the survey and, more importantly, they were assured that anonymity would be preserved. This briefing was undertaken by Sandy or Katerina and, on a few occasions, by myself. It should be noted that the two types of accommodation used as sampling frames for the survey are representative of Kalimeria as a whole. In total 120 respondents (mainly British and Austrian, see Table 7, Appendix B) participated in the 1995 field survey.

Several limitations of this survey must be noted. Firstly, it was carried out during the eight-week period of July and August (the peak season for tourism in Kalimeria) and, hence, it can only be considered a snapshot in time. Secondly, I found that several

people only wanted to write the minimum, while others answered only parts of the questionnaire. Despite these limitations, the survey provided sufficient data for me to construct a profile of tourists staying in Kalimeria. For further details on the administration of the questionnaire and on the work carried out during this stage of fieldwork, see Tables 5, 6 and 7, in Appendix B.

d) Fourth Stage of Data Collection (June - August 1996)

The self-completed questionnaire was also used to collect data during this final stage of fieldwork. The administration of questionnaires was again organised by Sandy, the owner of the Hotel D and, in the case of the self-catering accommodation, by Katerina, a tourist company representative. Of the 300 questionnaires issued, 98 were returned during this stage (see Table 9, Appendix B). Moreover, of these, only 80 questionnaires were useable for analysis. Although disappointing, this return rate is typical of this approach to administering questionnaires (see, for instance, Ryan, 1995).

During this summer, further semi-structured interviews were conducted. Several of these interviews took place in Bar D (Hotel D) where the atmosphere was relaxed and conversation with tourists was easy and enjoyable. A common topic raised by interviewees was the 'friendliness' of their hosts. When expressing their feelings about their Greek hosts, participants had in mind particular events and situations. Evidence gathered over the whole of this study suggests that, for many participants, it is their encounters with Greek nationals that makes their holiday ²³.

²³ For more details of this last stage of data collection see Tables 8 and 9 of Appendix B.

2.9 Ethical Issues

Observing how tourists behave, for example, on the beach, without announcing my presence or purpose, and collecting information from people about their personal experiences has an ethical dimension. Dilemmas experienced regarding my relationship with respondents, included issues of privacy, anonymity and confidentiality. Although I endeavoured to start conversational interviews by introducing myself to participants and explaining the aims of my research, on a few occasions, I found myself chatting to female tourists without revealing my identity as a researcher. This was not a deliberate attempt to deceive, but a spur of the moment decision taken in order to sustain the spontaneity of the rapport, which had developed between us. The discomfort experienced as the result of not revealing one's motivation in such situations heightened my awareness of the quality of the information I was gathering in the field. In particular, during the fieldwork of 1993, I felt that the rapport I had developed with some female tourists was crucial for the richness of my ethnographic findings.

The issue of whether a fieldworker should inform people that they are the subjects of her study is still debated amongst practitioners (see, for instance, Burgess, 1984). Although this problem is inherent in research of this kind, it is often brushed aside in studies of tourist's 'deviant' behaviour²⁴. It is important to note here that the roles adopted in the field, ranged from that of a fellow tourist to that of a 'friend'. These roles were to some extent determined by situational factors, as well as by the level of co-operation extended by participants.

²⁴ The covert and overt roles of a participant observer are discussed by Burgess (1984) and Bryman (1992).

Having to switch repeatedly from being an 'objective' researcher to being a 'friendly native' can be a daunting experience. Learning to be detached, and avoiding any biases in research, were part of my training as a postgraduate student. However, how is this possible in research of this kind? Friendships, with both tourists and locals, inevitably developed during my fieldwork. In addition, there were occasions when a participant confided in me, some aspects of the less pleasant side of their holiday. For instance, I found it very difficult not only to remain detached, but also to control my emotions, when I was told by one female participant of her experience of 'an attempted sexual assault', particularly since the man allegedly involved in this incident was known to me. I have since discovered that my feelings were similar to those recorded in other studies, for example Lawless, et al. (1983), and Sterk (1994).

I explored the issue of 'sexual harassment' further during my conversations with the local doctor and a nurse. I was told that sexual assaults, while rare in the resort, had indeed taken place on a few occasions ²⁵. This experience highlights another aspect of the ethical component of my research, i.e., that associated with the role of a 'caring and listening friend' ²⁶. It also made me aware of the need for great sensitivity when dealing with those people who helped me with my research, as well as the need to protect their anonymity.

²⁵ At the time that the theme of sexual harassment emerged from fieldwork (summer 1995), a quality Greek newspaper reported an incident of sexual assault on a young British female tourist holidaying on her own in Corfu.

²⁶ For a discussion of similar ethical and methodological problems in research see 'Interviewing Women, Issues of Friendship, Vulnerability, and Power', Cotterill (1992). For a discussion of the emotional aspects of fieldwork see Burgess (1984) and Sterk (1994). It is certainly my experience that 'every researcher is affected by the work he or she does. One cannot remain neutral and uninvolved; even as an outsider, the researcher is part of the community' (Sterk, *ibid*: 154).

2.10 The Issue of Subjectivity in the Construction of this Ethnography

The mass of qualitative data collected was condensed, organised and coded. This involved a discriminatory process of selecting data, which appeared important and meaningful for this study. The experience of doing this heightened my awareness of significance of 'ethnographic pick,' which seems to be endemic in research of this kind (Agar, 1980). This 'partiality' of research is a significant issue in this study. However, to borrow a phrase from Agar (*ibid.*), 'even though it is partial - aren't they all? - the logic of the research doesn't change' (see, also, Bryman, 1992).

Furthermore, analysing ethnographic material derived from unstructured and semi-structured interviews is a formidable 'linguistic' task. Raw data does not speak for itself; we make sense of it by a process of decoding transcribed sentences and phrases (Agar, *ibid.*; Strauss, 1987; Crick, 1996). A problem arises from the fact that we are dealing with participants' words, and words often have multiple meanings. Consequently, the meaning of a participant's account has to be understood by a 'method of interpretation that recovers as much as possible in terms of the situation in which they are produced' (Dant, 1990: 24).

Further, this interpretative method is the product of a long and complex learning process in the field. Grasping meaning involve a constant dialogue with the self and multiple conversations with the 'other'. By the 'other' I mean all the people, both consumers and producers of the Chalkidiki experience who knowingly or unknowingly participated in the construction of this ethnography. Understanding the socially constructed meanings of participants' accounts entails interpretation by both the 'ethnographer' and

the 'other'. By its very nature ethnographic research is 'collaborative', a product of the interaction between the ethnographer and those people who do 'in fact help co-author the study' (Agar, *ibid.*: 16).

As mentioned earlier, a number of locals became key informants, teaching me what they knew about tourists and providing me with information that they thought was significant for my research project. It is important to note here, that my gathering and interpretation of data was influenced by these informants. I have not found it possible to evaluate to what extent this has biased my conclusions.

2.11 Technical Problems

Undertaking fieldwork in Kalimeria was at times problematic and unpredictable. For instance, on the evening of 14 July 1996, I discovered that my tape recorder was no longer working. This resulted in me having to take notes for the rest of the period of fieldwork. While this is an acceptable way of recording participants accounts, I found it difficult to record everything that a participant was telling me. My choice of what to record, and the occasional paraphrasing of participants' answers, sensitised me to the issue of 'bias', a problem that seems to be inherent in research which follows ethnographic principles²⁷.

Another problem encountered was that during the transcription of tape-recorded interviews/conversations, I discovered that some parts of the recordings were inaudible

²⁷ On the issue of interviewer bias, see Burgess (1984). Note taking is not an easy task and it is not always possible to obtain a complete or verbatim record of an interview. It should also be noted that using a tape-recorder can make a participant anxious. On several occasions, confidential information was given to me by female responders when the tape-recorder was switched off. Hence, both of these strategies for recording interviews have disadvantages.

due to background noise. This inevitably entailed a lot of editing, for example, filling in words and short sentences, and more importantly to the loss of data. In particular, I found that interviews undertaken in places such as outdoor cafes and bars were poorly recorded due to background music and other people's conversations.

2.12 Analysis of Qualitative Data

a) An Ongoing Process

Analysis of ethnographic data begun in the field, in the summer of 1993. This first level of analysis was an ongoing process, occurring continuously throughout each period of fieldwork. As mentioned earlier, on some occasions, permission for the use of a tape recording was refused by participants; and on others it was not always possible to tape my conversations. Under these circumstances, condensed notes had to be made, comprising key words and phrases. After each conversation, these field notes were elaborated, edited and organised into topics (e.g., tourists' perceptions of Kalimeria, tourists holiday activities, travel motives). When filling in the missing data I had to rely very much on my memory ²⁸. Condensing and organising participants' accounts, by giving them some sort of structure, entailed an 'on the spot' interpretation. Gathering data and analysing it 'concurrently' is common practice in ethnographic studies (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Agar, 1980; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983; Burgess, 1984; Ribbens, 1990). Hence, it is important to note here that data analysis commenced in summer 1993 with the process of data acquisition and continued to the end of the project in summer 1997.

²⁸ This memory exercise was reminiscent of my school experiences in Thessaloniki, many years ago. These involved memorising large sections of Classical Greek for weekly tests. For me, having to remember participants' key words and phrases was like travelling back in time. The whole experience was comparable to learning a new language, playing with words and organising them into meaningful phrases.

Asking tourists questions at opportune moments and observing tourists' activities had the advantage of sensitising me to emerging themes, which informed the collection of data at a later stage. For instance, activities reported by tourists (summer 1993) such as 'I spend nearly all day on the beach sunbathing/swimming' and 'we're not bothered about the place, we just wanted a holiday in the sun' were coded on my field notes, as (NIA = non-interactive activity). Similar spontaneous verbal interactions between participants and myself allowed me to start my analysis by placing data into the theme of 'isolation', which is at the heart of the theoretical discourse concerning the tourists' experiences. (For more on this theme of isolation in the touristic experience, see Chapter Seven).

The fieldwork analysis carried out during the summers of 1993, 1994, 1995 and 1996 prepared the ground for the second level of analysis of the qualitative data, which was undertaken at home. This second level of analysis was started in early 1994 and became an ongoing process during the remainder of the research period. This approach to data analysis required me to remain open to new categories or concepts that emerged during fieldwork.

Second level analysis followed the 'grounded theory' approach advocated by Strauss and Corbin (1990). It started with the organisation of the material collected from each round of fieldwork in some kind of order. This involved lots of sorting, typing and editing of field notes taken during or after conversations with participants, and the transcription and typing of taped interviews ²⁹. This was followed by a process of

²⁹ The transcription of this material was carried out by my friend John Quirke a regular visitor to Kalimeria. I am indebted to him for his help in transcribing the material. The editing, the filling in of words and the typing of his hand-written transcripts, were carried out by myself.

eliminating data not thought to be relevant to the study. By sorting, coding, and reducing the data, and producing summaries of the key points, the data became more manageable, and so guided the direction of the next wave of data gathering in the field. For example, fieldwork would aim to collect new data to fill in gaps, or to test emerging themes (e.g., the themes of Greek hospitality, escape from everyday life and authenticity). This second level of analysis was ongoing throughout my research and was completed in early July 1997.

b) Making Comparisons

I spent a considerable amount of time reading each interview, marking off segments which dealt with the same topic, for instance travel motives, perceptions of hosts and Kalimeria, and holiday activities³⁰. After this initial phase of breaking up an interview script into topics, the analysis followed conventional methodological advice by breaking up each topic question by question (whenever possible), or theme by theme (Strauss and Corbin, *ibid.*; Agar, *ibid.*; Ryan, *ibid.*). Going through each script, noting down any similarities and differences in participants' answers to a specific question was a laborious and time-consuming activity, involving a constant dialogue with the interview script and myself. When looking for differences and similarities in participants' responses to a given question, care was taken that responses to a specific question were analysed with due regard to the context and the conditions which produced them³¹. As Ribbens

³⁰ Scribbles and notes made in the field concerning, for example, my feelings about the interview situation or about the participant, were edited, written up as 'memos' and attached to the corresponding interview to provide contextual information.

³¹ As mentioned earlier, I was not always able to cover all topics in my conversations with participants. This problem is inherent in ethnographic studies, which employ conversational interviews as a means of gathering data. This certainly places limitations on the conclusions I can draw from my study. However, it should be noted that I encountered a similar problem with the collection of my quantitative data (see Chapter Five).

(1990: 93) points out, 'this is absolutely proper within an ethnographic analysis, where what is said should always be understood in relation to the social context of the individual who is speaking'.

Significant statements were then selected and coded in terms of theoretical concepts and themes found in existing literature (e.g., the concepts of 'familiarity' and 'strangeness', 'isolation', 'commercialisation', 'Westernisation', 'freedom', 'escape', 'pleasure', 'authenticity', etc.)³². As mentioned earlier, the emerging concepts and themes (e.g., holiday romance, sexual harassment) were also tested and retested for reliability with another round of data collection. In so doing, a number of 'negative cases' (Strauss and Corbin, 1990) were also found (these are discussed in Chapter Seven). This process of analysis involved a constant shift between inductive and deductive thinking, while all the time refining my understanding of tourists' experiences of Kalimeria³³.

c) Making Use of NUDIST

NUDIST is a piece of computer software designed to make some aspects of qualitative data analysis easier and faster. NUDIST was particularly useful for locating all of the occurrences of particular words or phrases in which I was interested. For example, in searching for the word 'sun', across different files (each interview script constituted one file), NUDIST creates an organised list of the word 'sun' referenced to the context within which it occurs. These word list allowed me to see, for example, how many

³² For the techniques used for organising the data see, also, Appendix E.

³³ I am indebted to Tom Wooley for his valuable advice and guidance when I was analysing the interview scripts.

tourists used the word 'sun', how often it was used by participants and in what situations.

Although, NUDIST made some aspects of the qualitative analysis easier and faster, I found that my understanding of each interview was sometimes in danger of becoming fragmented and divorced from the social context. For example, I could not tell what my relationship with the participant was, or where the interview took place; neither could I tell what a participant's reactions were to some of my questions, or what other observations I had made at the time the interview took place. Despite the potential for fragmentation and de-contextualisation of interview material, this software proved invaluable for initial word searches and frequency counts.

2.13 The Construction of a Tourist Typology

Miles and Huberman (ibid.: 249) make the following important point about the use of the clustering technique in qualitative research. 'It can be applied at many levels to qualitative data: at the level of events or acts of individual actors... of sites or cases as wholes. In all instances, we're trying to understand a phenomenon better by grouping and then conceptualising objects that have similar patterns or characteristics'. Furthermore, clustering, or 'clumping things into classes or categories' is something that we all do in our daily life:

'....because of our marvellous and everyday capacities to select, edit, single out, structure, highlight, group, pair, merge, organise, condense, reduce, boil down, choose, categorise, catalogue, classify, refine, abstract, scan, look into, idealise, isolate, discriminate, distinguish, screen, sort, pick over,pigeonhole.....cluster, aggregate,.....and separate the sheep from the goats'

(Tufte, in Miles and Huberman, ibid.)

The technique of clustering data proved useful for placing participants displaying similarities of behaviour and experience into five separate categories of tourists. This process involved a constant examination of differences and similarities in tourists' accounts, and the identification of patterns and common themes. Clusters were checked and reviewed against new data from the field and were finally refined with the data from the last round of data collection. Clustering helped me to identify five tourist types - the Cultural Heritage, the Raver, the Shirley Valentine, the Heliolatrous and the Lord Byron (Wickens, 1994).

2.14 Analysis of Quantitative Data

Where a questionnaire was substantially incomplete in sections A,B,C and D, it was discarded. Given that the primary aim of the questionnaire was to build a profile of tourists in Kalimeria, it was decided to retain questionnaires which consisted of completed sections A, B and D and parts of section C. Data from the questionnaires were used to create a Microsoft Access database of responses.

This database aided the handling of my numerical data. The Access software proved to be a useful tool for storing, updating, organising and analysing the responses to the questionnaire. In those instances where the respondent did not reply to a question, it was entered as NA (no reply) and subsequently was not included in the analysis (see Chapter Five). However, I found that the issues that emerged from ethnographic interviews had much more of a life than those in a self-completed questionnaire. For instance, information from questionnaires was insufficient to detail the context of touristic activities, and hence I decided not to use it in the construction of the tourist

classification. Furthermore, although questions of sample size, reliability and validity of the survey's findings still remain, despite these limitations, some of the results are interesting and illuminating. I shall discuss these in some detail in Chapter Five.

2.15 Conclusion

In this chapter I have sought to provide an account of my ethnographic experience. I have reiterated the point that this ethnography of tourists' experiences is by no means a product only of the researcher. It arises from the work of many people who have given me their time and taken part in this investigation.

In recognising the inherent problems concerning the construction of our 'knowledge of others', this study makes no claims for 'scientific' objectivity, representativeness or generality. The validity of my findings are limited by the samples of people I have studied, by the methods used, by the biography of the researcher, and the many technical problems and contingent factors discussed above.

As Ribbens (1990: 96) points out, 'all social research is inevitably flawed....and all is socially constructed'. While this stricture undoubtedly applies to this study, nonetheless my findings are well-founded within the limits discussed above and may best be regarded as 'valid in principle or until further notice...' (Giddens, 1992a: 49).

CHAPTER THREE

Theoretical Approaches: A Survey of the Literature

3.1 Introduction

The notion of 'pseudo', or 'staged', events has been central to sociological debate within tourist studies. There are those commentators who argue that such events subvert the tourist's search for 'authenticity', for experiences comparable to those of religious pilgrims. Other writers have suggested that 'the barbarians of our age of leisure' (Turner and Ash, 1975) are unconcerned about artifice, desiring nothing more, or less, than 'a good time' while on holiday.

This ongoing debate concerning the nature of the touristic experience is the central theme of this chapter. It also explores the factors identified by various authorities as motivating people to leave their home environment. I shall examine critically the arguments of diverse thinkers, assess the strengths and weaknesses of their various positions, and explore their concepts of 'the tourist'.

A central conclusion to emerge from this survey is the growing realisation that in order to obtain a deeper understanding of tourism as a social phenomenon, future research should go beyond the all-encompassing label of the 'tourist' by giving due attention to tourists' voices (Cohen, 1979a; Pearce, 1982; Crick, 1989). It is also clear that, in order to obtain an adequate understanding of the touristic experience, a pluralist theoretical approach needs to be deployed.

3.2 The Literature: Some Generalisations

In his review of the sociological literature on tourists' experiences of a visited host community and its people, Cohen (1979b: 198) found that 'the in-depth study of tourist experiences is not yet much developed although an endless number of surveys of tourist motivations has been conducted'. Twenty years on, little appears to have changed and there is still 'little substance to the sociology of tourism' (Urry, 1991: 7). Thornton (1995) has recently made a similar observation on the absence of any solid empirical work on tourists' experiences. He argues that considerable research has been conducted by market researchers on tourist demand and tourist motivations, but the actual experiences and activities of tourists 'while on vacation have been a subject of less interest to researchers' (ibid. 48).

Despite the quantity of writing on tourism, tourists themselves remain 'shadowy figures' in the existing literature, and their voices are rarely heard (Cohen, 1979a; Schudson, 1979; Pearce, 1982; Lundberg, 1985; Crick, 1989; Page, et al., 1994; Thornton, 1995; Dann, 1996a). Tourists are typically treated as objects to be analysed rather than subjects with feelings, experiences of a host community, memories, and stories to tell.

Our knowledge of this modern cultural phenomenon is derived primarily from two sources. Secondary sources (such as travel brochures, travel books, tourist guide books, journals, TV and Radio programmes, newspapers, photographic representations, and novels), and empirical studies. In the latter, the touristic experience is conceptualised as a pre-programmed 'product' consumed by the 'tourist' (Buck, 1977; Papson, 1981; Moeran, 1983; Thurot and Thurot, 1983; Adams, 1984; Redfoot, 1984;

Bruner, 1991; Silver, 1993; Mellinger, 1994; Dann, 1996a; Fees, 1996; Hilty, 1996). For instance, Hilty (ibid.) has used popular media, such as newspapers, as a data source on tourism. Fees (ibid.) used television and radio programmes, magazines, and similar sources in his study of the development of a Cotswold Town into a touristic attraction, and Dann (ibid.) used travel brochures to explore the theme of the 'tourist as a child'.

More recently, postmodernist writers have drawn our attention to the consumers of the touristic experience, treating tourists as 'semioticians', in search of signs of cultural heritage and 'authenticity' (Culler, 1981; Urry, 1995; Harkin, 1995; Hughes, 1995). In his analysis of the touristic experience Urry (ibid.: 12), for instance, presents the tourist as a consumer of images and spectacles, such as 'the typical English village, the typical American skyscraper, the typical German beer-garden, the typical French chateau and so on.' However, the individual's experience of a visited place, as seen from his/her point of view, remains a relatively unexplored topic.

A key characteristic of research to date is that many scholars operate with undeveloped definitions of the term 'tourist', with some appearing to be oblivious to the need to define this term. Many practitioners appear to be content to deploy the term tourist, albeit implicitly, as a label for a 'colourful-T-shirt-shorts-and-camera-round-his-neck' stereotype in their discussion of tourism (Lundberg, 1985; Rojek, 1993; Thornton, 1995).

There is also a tendency amongst some researchers to adopt one of two opposing orientations. One perceives the touristic experience of the visited host community as:

‘superficial’; ‘inauthentic’; ‘genuine fake’; ‘artifice’; merely a ‘pseudo event’; a ‘staged event’; ‘staged specimens’; or a series ‘of staged games’ and ‘spectacles’. (See, for example, Boorstin, 1964; Turner and Ash, 1975; MacCannell, 1976, 1989 and 1992; Buck, 1977; Urry, 1991; Ritzer, 1993). The other sees the tourist’s experience as: ‘liminal’; ‘hedonistic’; or a ‘recreational’ activity that provides the individual with release from everyday life. (See, for example, Graburn, 1977; Wagner, 1977; Moore, 1980; Gottlieb, 1982; Lett, 1983; Shields, 1992; Brown, 1996). These two orientations may be seen as the ends of a spectrum of opinion with a variety of views lying between them (e.g., Smith, 1977; Cohen, 1979a; Pearce, 1982; Redfoot, 1984; Yiannakis and Gibson, 1992).

3.3 Perspectives on Tourists

In each of the following sections I attempt to explore a particular key concept commonly encountered in the literature. I have found it useful to use each concept as an organising principle for reviewing a number of related studies of tourists and tourism. As a consequence, there is some unavoidable overlap between sections. This arises for two reasons: firstly, there are a small number of key thinkers who have influenced many others; and, secondly, a sub-set of these concepts may form the conceptual framework deployed by an individual writer. Nonetheless, this approach allows points of significance to this study to emerge.

a) The Passive Tourist

Early accounts of tourists’ experiences were mainly descriptive and tended to mirror the negative attitude towards tourism, which is ‘commonplace’ among travel writers

(MacCannell, 1976: 600). Hostility towards modern travel and package holidaymakers infuses Boorstin's writing. In tracing the history of travel from the aristocratic Grand Tour of the 18th century through to the age of mass tourism, Boorstin (1964: 85) asserts that modern tourists, as opposed to travellers of the past, are 'passive' sightseers, motivated by the desire for 'pleasure'. In justifying the contrast he perceives between travel and package holidays, he writes:

'Formerly travel required long planning, large expense, and great investments of time. It involved risks to health or even to life. The traveller was active. Now he became passive.....This change can be described in a word. It was the decline of the traveller and the rise of the tourist.....The traveller, then, was working at something.....he went strenuously in search of people, of adventure, of experience. The tourist is passive; he expects interesting things to happen to him. He goes 'sight-seeing'. He expects everything to be done to him and for him.'

(Boorstin, 1964: 85).

In 'The Lost Art of Travel' Boorstin argues that the transformation of foreign travel into a 'commodity' has diluted the 'authenticity' of the traveller's experience. Attractively packaged for touristic consumption, foreign travel now guarantees the consumer an experience of the 'strangeness' of the place from the secure vantage point of the 'environmental bubble' of the hotel complex. Before the ready availability of package holidays, the experience of a foreign country was a 'real' undertaking, involving an 'authentic' experience of a host community and its people. However, now:

'the multiplication, improvement, and cheapening of travel facilities have carried many more people to distant places. But the experience of going there, the experience of being there, and what is brought back from there are all very different.'

(ibid.: 79).

The package holiday has 'diluted' and transformed the traveller's experience into a 'contrived' and 'prefabricated' experience (ibid.: 79). Travelling involves guided groups, and tourists 'see nothing but the weather' (ibid.: 94). Furthermore, Boorstin

argues, the passive tourist expects 'that the exotic and the familiar can be made to order... Having paid for it, he likes to think he has got his money's worth' (ibid.: 80). In this interpretation, tourists demand that the whole world be made a 'stage for pseudo-events'. Boorstin's 'pseudo events' include such things as staged performances of traditional dances or ceremonies. These, he argues, are designed to show tourists a traditional way of life which has either disappeared or been 'adulterated'. He presumes that the modern tourist does not experience 'reality', but that what 'he really sees are specimens collected and embalmed especially for him', or 'attractions specially staged for him' (ibid.: 102).

Tourism's demand for 'specimens of the artificial' induces hosts to produce 'en masse' more and more such specimens for touristic consumption. In Boorstin's (ibid.: 103) opinion,

'tourist attractions serve their purpose best when they are pseudo-events.... What they really guarantee you are not spontaneous cultural products, but only those made especially for tourist consumption, for foreign cash customers.'

A number of objections may be made to this analysis. First, as Ryan (1991: 45) stresses, 'the value of the tourist experience is not that of the academic writer imputing a set of normative judgements to the situation, but what is felt by the tourist him or herself'. Second, Boorstin overstates his case, by claiming that tourists disregard 'the real life' of the destination, passively enjoying the 'contrived attractions'. In so doing, he ignores differences between the wants, expectations and experiences of individual tourists (see, also, Cohen, 1988b; MacCannell, 1976; Bruner, 1991; Urry, 1991).

Third, the view that tourists go abroad 'not to see at all, but only to take a picture' (Boorstin, *ibid.*: 117) is too simplistic. As we will see in the latter part of this thesis, ethnographic evidence from Chalkidiki reinforces the growing realisation amongst practitioners that not all modern tourists enjoy what Boorstin calls pseudo events. Indeed, this study indicates that certain types of tourists want a genuine encounter with the host community.

Boorstin is not the only commentator to take a negative attitude towards mass tourism and the modern tourist. The distinction he draws between the traveller and the modern tourist, and the hostility he expresses towards the package holidaymaker, is replicated in several other studies. For instance, the argument that there has been a loss of the 'art of travel', and the prejudice against modern tourists, who are seen as somehow different from travellers of the past, is also to be found in Levi-Strauss's work (in Rojek, 1993: 173).

'journeys, those magic caskets full of dreamlike promises, will never again yield up their treasures uncontaminated. A proliferating and overexcited civilisation has broken the silence of the seas once and for all. The perfumes of the tropics and the pristine freshness of human beings have been corrupted by a busyness with dubious implications, which mortifies our desires and dooms us to acquire only contaminated memories.'

By contrast, some commentators have questioned the distinction between tourist and traveller (e.g., Lytra, 1987; Bruner, 1991). Lytra (*ibid.*), for instance, presents historical evidence to show that early travellers to Greece were equally interested in antiquities and the Greek sunshine. According to the same source, these 'elite', Western European, travellers were not interested in the 'real' life of Greece, or in meeting the indigenous population. An observation which reduces, if not removes, the perceived distance

between the traveller and the tourist as conceptualised by these thinkers. I shall consider this issue further in Chapter Five, but it is worth stressing here, that these cultural critics of tourists and tourism overstate their case by claiming that the traveller of the past was in search of a genuine contact with the real host environment.

Likewise, in tracing the history of the Grand Tour, Hibbert found that 'the highlight of the tour of Europe was not the culture of Classical Rome, but the adventure, spice and thrill of Venice, the brothel of the eighteenth century' (in Ryan, 1991: 44). Bruner takes this issue further, arguing that the elitist distinction between traveller and tourist is a 'western myth of identity', imagined and romanticised by critics of tourism and organised tourists (ibid.: 247). His study of tourism in Bali, reveals that:

'once the tourist infrastructure is in place, the traveller can hardly avoid the well-trodden path of the tourists...If a 'traveller' to Bali were to avoid all the localities where tourists were found, then the traveller would have almost no place to go, since in Bali tourists (and ethnographers) are everywhere.'

b) 'The Barbarians of our Age of Leisure'

The conceptualisation of the mass organised tourist as a devotee of sun and 'synthetic fun', as someone who tries 'to get away from all the pollution and alienation' of modern societies and have a good time is developed in 'The Golden Hordes' (Turner and Ash, 1975: 15). This study, which is essentially a refinement of Boorstin's account of tourism, is also condescending towards the package holidaymaker. The assertions that the tourist industry plays an important role in shaping tourists' wants, and that tourists are 'mere suckers' of the tourist brochures, are found in this study. Echoing Boorstin, these commentators also suggest that tourism is a 'people processing' industry, which manipulates and influences people's desire to get away from everyday life, while 'at the

same time providing the means by which these dreams can be fulfilled' (ibid.: 15).

Turner and Ash argue (ibid.: 11) that the names of holiday places, such as:

'Majorca, Acapulco, Bali and Marrakech roll across the page evoking images of sun, pleasure and escape..... we are offered these destinations as retreats to a childlike world in which the sun always shines, and we can gratify all our desires. Tourismis a visible result of the... great waves of technology which have changed the social geography of the world since 1800.....Finally we have the aeroplane which, when linked with rising affluence, has led to a whole new tribe... the barbarians of our Age of Leisure. The Golden Horde.'

The assertion that the tourist does not experience the 'real life' of the visited host environment is also found in this study. Guided by their 'surrogate parents' - that is, tourist guides and hotel staff - the tourist is prevented from having any real contact with the host community. Again, several observations are necessary here. This interpretation of the touristic experience ignores the fact that:

'different language, different customs, different media, different climates, are initially disturbing. One does not know what to do if something goes wrong. One is in the midst of unfamiliar surroundings and practices.'

(Rojek, 1993: 176)

This study lends supports to the view that the holiday reality for many tourists includes some discomfort, for example. minor health complaints associated with either food, drink or the sun (Ryan, 1991; Page et al., 1994). A series of ethnographic interviews with foreign visitors to Chalkidiki, reveals that it is for this reason that tourists seek the security of the environmental bubble and the protection of their 'surrogate parents' (Wickens, 1997). Choosing to go on a pre-packaged holiday, which is relatively free from physical hardship and health risks, 'need not be despised as evidence' of the lack of a desire to experience 'real' cultural events in the host community (Rojek, 1993: 176).

The shortcomings of this theoretical orientation become clear when the works in which it is found are put in context. Tourists are not the subjects of investigation. These writers are mainly concerned with the socio-cultural impact of tourism on the host community. It is assumed that mass tourism carelessly destroys the social and cultural characteristics of the visited host communities in a way similar to the Huns, Tartars and Visigoths of the early middle ages. The view that mass tourism is an enemy of the 'authenticity' of the 'other' is based on the assumption that the growth of tourism results in the Westernisation of traditional cultures. The cultural traditions of a host country are perceived of as being packaged and sold like any other commodity. Like other critics, these commentators adopt a negative stance towards mass tourism and package holidaymakers ¹.

A number of objections may be made to this type of analysis. First, there is some evidence that tourism is the 'guardian' of traditions (see, for instance, Andronicou, 1984; Boissevain, 1996) ². Also, as Robins (1991) points out, Western romanticism and ethnocentrism cloud the judgement that tourism is destructive to tourist destinations. No society is immune from outside influences. The emergence of the 'global village' as the result of the technological developments of media makes it even more difficult to isolate the principal cause of change.

¹ Not only does this conceptualisation of the tourist carry overtones of ethnocentrism, but the use of the word 'barbarian' to describe the tourist could be construed as racist.

² The issue of the authenticity of touristic attractions, such as cultural events and festivals, is discussed fully in Chapter Eight.

c) The Insulated Tourist

The presumption that the tourist is unadventurous and insulated from the 'real life' of the host community is elaborated in Carroll's work. The touristic experience is said to be 'confined to a repeating series of jumbo jet flights, international airport interludes, air-conditioned taxi rides and International Hilton stops' (quoted in Rojek, 1993: 176). Contact between the holidaymaker and the host is said to take place in the context of service transactions and hence, apart from shopping and tipping, tourists are isolated and do not encounter any natives during their holidays.

Likewise, Fussell (1982) maintains that the modern traveller experiences a contrived inauthentic world which has been purposely manufactured by the tourist industry. Investigating the literary work on travel in the 1930s, Fussell (ibid.) concluded that 'before the development of tourism, travel was conceived to be like study, and its fruits were considered to be the adornment of the mind and the formation of judgement' (ibid.: 39). However, the modern tourist, as opposed to the foreign traveller of the past, rarely sees 'the living culture' of the visited destination. What they experience is the 'touristic bubble' of a hotel complex, comprising a range of facilities, including restaurants serving western-style food, souvenir shops, bars and discos. The bubble is conceptualised as an all-encompassing, hermetically sealed, micro-world.

This theme of the isolation of the tourist and the assertion that the tourist enjoys the superficiality and inauthenticity of artificially created touristic bubbles, or ghettos, are found in several other studies (e.g., Moynahan, 1985; Adler, 1989; Krippendorf, 1991). Krippendorf (ibid.: 34) writes:

'Not only are most tourist centres interchangeable but they all have the necessary capacity to process the tourist flood when it comes....They are completely sufficient and offer tourists, everything their hearts may desire - so they do not need to go outside them.....'

d) The Alienated Tourist

The argument that tourism is a sanctioned form of leisure that helps to keep the workforce compliant, is to be found predominantly in the work of Marxist-oriented analysts. From this perspective, foreign travel is viewed as a form of 'imperialism'. It is a new form of metropolitan dominance over 'undeveloped' or 'developing' Third World countries. The commercialisation of tourism helps to generate big profits for the tourist industry (e.g., Young, 1973; Nash, 1989). For instance, Nash (*ibid.*) suggests that this new form of 'imperialism' is based on the exploitation of the host destination and its people, and that it benefits only a few multinational corporations.

Such studies are primarily concerned with the impact of mass tourism on traditional societies. However, it is interesting to note that, escape from the 'alienation' caused by the oppressive 'capitalist societies' from which tourists originate, is singled out as the key factor motivating them to holiday abroad. Getting away from 'distasteful work roles' (Nash, *ibid.*: 35) is seen as the major impetus for people to participate in mass tourism.

The notion that going away on a foreign package holiday provides the tourist with a respite from the frustration of living and working in alienating modern societies such as America, is also found in Hiller's work (1976). He (*ibid.*: 100) maintains that 'the need to travelto get away, to escape from the stresses of work is recognised by the

travel industry' and hence, by implication, the meaning of an individual's holiday is to be found in travel brochures. However, the reality is that travel motivation is much more complex (see Pearce, 1982; Dunn Ross and Iso-Ahola, 1990; Dann, 1981; Wickens, 1995)³. Furthermore, as Cohen points out, there is scarcely a shred of evidence that all, or even most, tourists are alienated from their home environment⁴.

Furthermore, the term 'tourist' is used by these analysts as a label for a:

'vacationer who insists on American fast-food hamburgers, coffee with his meals, hot running water in his bedroom and the use of the English language...He is a person from a highly industrialised country expecting, even demanding, that his vacation life abroad meet expectations he has come to take for granted at home'

(Nash, *ibid.*: 35)

It is interesting to note the pejorative language used by these critics to describe the tourist. For instance, modern tourists are portrayed as the 'new conquerors', and as 'colonialists' of the host community. Boorstin describes the tourist as a 'gullible' sightseer, and for Turner and Ash tourists are the 'sun-tanned destroyers of culture' (*ibid.*: 11). Terms such as 'ridiculous', 'naive', 'dupe', 'uncultured', 'like a sheep', 'ugly', 'polluting', 'irresponsible', 'licentious' and 'slothful' are commonplace in the literature (Krippendorf, 1991: 41). Other analysts have described mass tourists as 'cattle' and tourism as 'herding' (Godbey and Graefe, 1991: 219).

Such negative images of tourists and tourism are also to be found in Moynahan's work.

In his analysis of package holidays, Moynahan (1985: 143) describes the hotel complex

³ The factors which motivate people to leave their home environment and visit Chalkidiki are discussed in Chapter Six.

⁴ The fragmentation and routinisation of work, and its effect in creating alienated and dissatisfied workers, has received extensive analysis from sociologists concerned with the nature and quality of paid employment. See, for instance, 'The Affluent Worker in the Class Structure', by Goldthorpe, et al., (1969). For the significance of work in people's lives see 'Leisure and Work', by Parker (1983).

as a 'tanning factory'. In the 'Tourist Trap', he records the following remark of a Greek hotel owner in Corfu.

'You think of them in terms of their package....If you ever thought of them as people the whole system would break down....People, all pale and wan, arrive one week and leave bronzed the next...everything is programmed to a plan. It has to be... We throw in one evening of Greek music. We get a band and a singer in ...Some of the waiters dance. The geese (i.e., the tourists) have a go....People like to be regimented. Why else would holiday camps be such a success?'

(in Moynahan, *ibid.*: 145).

e) The Tourist in Search of Authenticity

In his book, 'The Tourist: a New Theory of the Leisure Class', MacCannell (1976) argues that the 'touristic consciousness is motivated by the desire for authentic experience', and not by the desire to experience 'pseudo events' or 'specimens of the artificial'. Unlike the commentators reviewed so far, MacCannell sees the tourist as a secular pilgrim paying homage to touristic attractions, just as the religious pilgrim of the past paid homage to a 'sacred centre'. For him, touristic attractions are 'precisely analogous to the religious symbolism of primitive societies' (*ibid.*: 2). MacCannell's work contrasts sharply with those writers who conceptualise the passive/barbarian/isolated/alienated tourist as neither interested in the cultural attractions of a destination, nor in the 'real life' of the indigenous population. He maintains that attractions such as museums, historical and industrial monuments, parks and pageants, are important 'social symbols of modernity' (*ibid.*: 77).

Influenced by Durkheim's work, MacCannell (1973: 589-590) writes:

'Sightseeing is a form of ritual respect for society and ..tourism absorbs some of the social functions of religion in the modern world.....the search for authenticity of experience that is everywhere manifest in our society. The concern of moderns for the shallowness of their lives and inauthenticity of their experiences parallels concern for the sacred in primitive society.'

Searching for the 'authentic' in other 'historical periods and other cultures', that is, in places which are untouched by modernity, is seen by him as 'a basic component of their motivation to travel' (1976:10).

Shadowing American tourists provided MacCannell with the evidence on which he bases his assertion about our quest for authenticity. He (ibid.: 3) claims that:

'For moderns, reality and authenticity are thought to be elsewhere: in other historical periods and other cultures, in purer, simpler lifestyles. In other words, the concern of moderns for 'naturalness', their nostalgia and their search for authenticity are not merely casual and somewhat decadent, though harmless, attachments to the souvenirs of destroyed cultures and dead epochs. They are also components of the conquering spirit of modernity - the grounds of its unifying consciousness.'

He insists that 'by following tourists, we may be able to arrive at a better understanding of ourselves' (ibid.: 5). MacCannell, 'having discovered, like Trilling (1972) and Berger (1973) before him, authenticity as a basic value of modern culture..... goes on tacitly to ascribe such a quest to each and every individual modern tourist' (Cohen, 1988b: 34).

In his writing, MacCannell uses the term 'tourist' to designate 'sightseers'. The claim that the tourist is a middle class male traveller in a quest for authenticity, to borrow a phrase from Cohen, 'offends one's common sense' (Cohen, ibid.: 35). While this study challenges the view that the 'tourist' is an all embracing label for millions of 'middle class' people in 'search for authenticity', it does provide some evidence that certain types of tourists want to experience 'authenticity' in Chalkidiki (see Chapter Eight). Furthermore, in contradiction to MacCannell's assertion, but congruent with Urry's view, the profile of foreign visitors to Kalimeria shows that tourism has become accessible to people from a wide range of socio-economic backgrounds (see Chapter Five).

MacCannell's conclusion that all tourists seek authenticity in other times and places is based on ethnographic evidence from his study of guided tours in Paris. These take foreign visitors to sights such as museums, famous buildings, cemeteries, transport systems, sewers, and other sites of industry and work. As Schudson (1979) rightly points out, places such as beaches have escaped MacCannell's attention. Furthermore, like Boorstin, et al., MacCannell does not consider the feelings of tourists, which (as I will argue later) constitute an important part of the visitor's experience. Furthermore, while he claims to be doing an 'ethnography of tourism', MacCannell does not say 'a word about the age, sex, class, nationality or personality of tourists.....and this leads the reader to wonder if the Tourist is real or not' (Schudson, 1979: 1257). Hence, MacCannell's work is best seen as 'an ethnography of modernity', rather than an ethnography of touristic experiences.

Influenced by Goffman's work (1959), MacCannell coined the term 'staged authenticity', to refer to the presentation of contrived touristic attractions as if they were 'authentic'. By employing Goffman's (1959) 'front-stage'/'back-stage' dichotomy, MacCannell has developed a classification of touristic settings, which reflects the differing degrees of authenticity. Some settings are said to be 'purely front' (e.g., commercialised holiday resorts), which are set up specifically for mass tourists. Others are 'purely back', that is, authentic places which are rarely experienced by modern tourists (e.g., places off the beaten track). In between these two poles there are front regions which are organised to look like 'backs', back regions which are open to tourists (e.g., factory tours), or backs regions to which visitors are occasionally permitted entry (e.g., the open orchestra rehearsal).

Although MacCannell's analysis of tourist activity parallels Boorstin's concept of pseudo or staged event, in MacCannell's narrative, tourists are inhibited by the tourist industry from 'peeking into the back regions'. This contrasts with Boorstin's view that the gullible tourist wants 'pseudo events'. For MacCannell, tourists 'make brave sorties... hoping.. for an authentic experience, but their paths can be traced in advance' (1976:106). Furthermore, he goes on to argue that 'common sense places the blame on the tourist mentality, but this is not technically correct' (ibid.: 94). While he shares Boorstin's view that tourists rarely participate in the culture of the host community, in MacCannell's view the inauthenticity of the tourist experience is the 'structural consequence of the development of tourism', rather than the result of the tourist's demand for pseudo events (ibid.: 94). Thus, in contrast to Boorstin, and other like-minded thinkers who blame the individual tourist, MacCannell blames the industry for the inauthenticity of the visitors' experience of the 'other'.

As he explains, tourists can experience reality in the 'back regions' of the host community. However, as the tourist's 'fascination for the real life of others' (ibid.: 91) becomes mass produced, hosts, primarily for commercial reasons, create contrived 'tourist spaces' which are decorated to look like 'back regions'. Entry into these back regions is 'really entry into a front region that has been totally set up in advance for touristic visitation' (1976: 101). Such touristic spaces are 'false backs', that is, inauthentic. In his view, the tourist industry 'stages authenticity' for touristic consumption. Foreign visitors experience 'staged' attractions and events. Everything about the tourists' experience is inauthentic and mass produced.

This observation led MacCannell to reach a similar conclusion to that found in the work of critics of tourists, and tourism, i.e., that modern tourists do not experience the 'real' life of the destination. In his criticism of the pleasure industry, he writes :

'They build tourist factories, called 'resorts' and 'amusement parks', through which people are run assembly-line fashion and stripped of their money... This kind of tourism is exploitative on both sides: the tourist gets little for his money and the local people do not see the money that is generated.'

(ibid.: 163)

There are several empirical studies which support MacCannell's' argument that the tourist industry is dominated by artificial cultural productions, such as folklore shows, and other cultural representations (e.g., Buck, 1977; Goldberg, 1983). For instance, Goldberg's ethnographic study in Haiti shows that 'hosts deliberately create social spaces that purport to give the tourist a sense of penetrating backstage' (ibid.: 493). His ethnographic evidence is consistent with MacCannell's argument concerning the deception of the tourist. However, in contrast to MacCannell, Goldberg's study shows that the majority of package holidaymakers in Haiti do not expect 'authentic rituals'. Based on evidence from interviews with more than 150 tourists, Golberg found that the tourist's 'ignorance of Haitian culture', allows events such as the voodoo shows to become 'converted into a situation of staged authenticity'. However, he makes the additional point that each tourist participating in the staged voodoo show 'interprets the event in terms of his or her own social and cultural world' (Goldberg, ibid.: 492-493). From this point of view, while the voodoo show illustrates MacCannell's notion of 'staged authenticity', the perceived 'authenticity' of a touristic show is negotiable, and dependant on the tourist's knowledge of the culture of the host community. Goldberg's study supports the notion that authenticity is a social construct, negotiated by the key players (see Chapters Seven and Eight).

Like Boorstin, et al., MacCannell makes the assumption that all tourists are insulated in the 'tourist factories', and hence that they rarely participate in the lives of the host community. However, no matter how planned and packaged the holiday may be, evidence from Chalkidiki supports the view that 'there is always room for tourist bypassing and deviations from the tourist script' (Rojek, 1993:177). The issue of whether tourists are isolated from, or participate in, the lives of the host community, is discussed in detail in Chapter Eight. However, it should be noted here, that even this theoretical approach ignores individual differences in the motivations and experiences of tourists.

f) Post-Tourists

The term 'post tourist' has been employed by some theorists to describe millions of holidaymakers (e.g., Culler, 1981; Feifer, 1985). In these writings, the separate categories of tourist and traveller are amalgamated into the new category of 'post-tourist' because the tourist/traveller dichotomy is seen as obsolete. There is no need for a tourist typology, we are told, since post-tourists live in an 'age of mass communications' and consequently are well informed about the cultures and lifestyles of potential hosts. From this theoretical perspective, the post-tourist knows very well that there is no authentic touristic experience to be found in the 'other'. The well-informed post-tourist knows that tourism is just 'a game', and that 'authentic' local entertainments are staged. Urry (1991:100) remarks that 'post-tourists know that they are tourists and that tourism is a game, or rather a whole series of games with multiple texts and no single, authentic tourist experience'. Likewise, Feifer (ibid.) writes that the tourist is not a 'time traveller when he goes somewhere historic; not an instant noble

savage when he stays on a tropical beach; not an invisible observer when he visits a nature compound' (ibid.: 71).

According to these writers, the post-tourist can enjoy all kinds of tourism by choosing sometimes to be a package holiday maker, sometimes a freelance traveller, and sometimes not to be a tourist at all. Furthermore, Feifer (1985) argues that the post-tourist can now enjoy the experience of the 'other' (i.e., exotic sites) at home, at the 'flick of a switch', with TV programmes such as 'Wish You Were Here' or videos showing holiday destinations such as Greece. The post-tourist can imagine him/herself to be 'really there', enjoying the 'sun-set' and the 'turquoise-coloured sea', without any physical discomforts (e.g., being bitten by mosquitoes). In this version of the post-tourist, travel is achieved via a touristic virtual reality (see, also, Sharpley, 1996).

It is important to note that this type of analysis stresses the 'de-differentiation', and the simulation, of the tourist experience. The term 'de-differentiation' attempts to capture the blurring of distinctions, for instance, between past and present and between work, leisure and travel (Rojek, 1995). Furthermore, it is argued that touristic worlds are reproductions, simulations. Proponents of this approach claim that we now live in a world of 'signs' without referents, where the artificial is more real than the 'real', i.e., is 'hyperreal' (e.g., Baudrillard, 1997: 28). For Baudrillard, holiday locations such as sea-side resorts, theme parks and museums offer the tourist spectacles which are simulations. According to him, we now live in a 'world of sign and spectacle...one in which there is no real originality...Everything is a copy, or a text, where what is fake seems more real than the real' (quoted in Urry, 1991: 85).

Echoing Boorstin and other like minded thinkers, Baudrillard argues that commercial interests promote and manipulate false pictures of holiday destinations, selling authentic paradises which do not exist (Baudrillard, 1988). For him, tourism is a way of providing a 'simulacrum of the world'. This postmodernist approach rejects the notion of 'authenticity' and, more significantly, the search for the 'authentic other' (as has been claimed by MacCannell, et al.), since everything is equally authentic, or, if you like, inauthentic. It places an emphasis on the 'superficial', the ephemeral, the trivial and the 'flagrantly artificial' in the touristic experience (Webster, 1996: 170).

The assertion that tourists are in search of 'signs of authenticity' and are consumers of 'signs and representations' is found in several other studies (e.g., Watson and Kopachevsky, 1996). Here, tourists are characterised as semioticians, reading the landscape for signs derived from various discourses of travel and tourism. Tourism is not only 'sign driven' but also 'media driven' (ibid.: 282). In this interpretation of the touristic experience it is the seeing of particular signs during the trip which are important to tourists. This argument rests on the assumption that 'people feel that they must not miss seeing particular scenes since otherwise the photo-opportunities will be missed....Indeed much tourism becomes in effect a search for the photogenic, travel is a strategy for the accumulation of photographs' (Urry, ibid.: 139).

Of particular significance to this study, is the fact that, even in this postmodernist approach, the tourist may be seen as a passive observer, rather than a key participant in the travel experience. Urry insists that a 'typical' tourist experience involves gazing at

sights. The tourist is seen as a sightseer enjoying the various 'objects of the tourist gaze'. As he (ibid.: 3) explains:

'The tourist gaze is directed to features of landscape and townscape which separate them off from everyday experience.....People linger over such a gaze which is then normally visually objectified or captured through photographs, post cards, films, models and so on. These enable the gaze to be endlessly reproduced and recaptured.'

Furthermore, he proposed a two-fold typology of tourist sites - the 'romantic/historical/authentic' sites and the 'collective/modern/inauthentic' sites. The romantic gaze is motivated by the desire for solitary enjoyment and experience. It is the structural equivalent of the 'search for authenticity' and the 'sacred journey' (MacCannell, ibid.). The 'romantic' tourist seeks reality in other cultures and societies and tries to recreate the 'lost art of travel' (Boorstin, ibid.). Urry cites the Lake District as an object of the romantic gaze. On the other hand, the collective gaze is motivated by the need to gaze on the familiar. Urry illustrates this argument, by citing Alton Towers Leisure Park as an object of the 'collective' gaze. For him, Alton Towers is a prime example of a modern, and hence inauthentic, place.

This classification of the tourist gaze into romantic and collective says more about Urry's views and interests than the experiences of actual tourists. Like his predecessors, Urry does not consider the meaning of a holiday from the tourist's point of view. The value of his approach lies in the fact that it provides a historical account of the 'democratisation of travel', that is the development of tourism within the context of the development of society as a whole. Its main weakness is that it directs our attention primarily towards the wider tourism system, rather than towards the key players, that is, those who participate in a variety of tourist activities, including gazing. Urry, along with

many other writers, overlooks variations in the expectations and experiences of different tourist types.

g) The Tourist as Contemporary Religious Pilgrim

A different approach to the touristic experience derives from Turner's work on pilgrimages (1973, and Turner and Turner, 1978). Although not directly concerned with tourism, his notions of 'liminality', 'anti-structure', and 'communitas' have informed a number of recent sociological and anthropological studies of tourism. Influenced by the work of Van Gennep, Turner sees the pilgrim's journey as a 'rite of passage', involving a 'three stage ritual process'. Pilgrims first go through the 'separation stage', which involves leaving behind their 'familiar place' of home environment and society and subsequently arriving at an 'unfamiliar place'. During the journey the pilgrim is removed 'from one type of time to another' (Turner, 1973: 221).

The second stage involves an experience of 'liminality'. That is, pilgrims cross 'the threshold' of their normal structured world and find themselves in a state of 'anti-structure', where the individual's everyday roles and obligations are suspended, and where human bonds are emphasised. From this perspective, a pilgrimage liberates the individual from the constraints of everyday life. While in this liminal condition, pilgrims experience 'communitas' that is a sense of togetherness, sharing a spiritual experience with other members of the religious group. To quote Turner (1973: 214), the pilgrim has:

'a direct experience of the sacred, invisible, or supernatural order, either in the material aspect of miraculous healing or in the immaterial aspect of inward transformation of spirit or personality..... participates in symbolic activities which he believes are efficacious in changing his inner and, sometimes, hopefully outer condition

from sin to grace, or sickness to health.. He hopes for miracles and transformations, either of soul or body.'

The third stage is 'reintegration', which refers to the pilgrim's return to his ordinary everyday world. This processual model sees the pilgrim liberated from everyday social constraints of status and role. Turner's work has made an important contribution to our understanding of the touristic experience which, for some tourists (as we will show later), is dependent upon the tourist's perceived liminal state.

In his study of pilgrimage, Turner suggests that pilgrimages may have stimulated the growth of cities, markets and roads. Hence, he concluded that 'if the Protestant Ethic was a precondition of capitalism, perhaps the 'pilgrimage ethic' helped to create the communications net that later made capitalism a viable national and international system' (Turner, 1973: 228). To support his claim, he cites the growth of several pilgrimage centres in Brazil and Mexico and their transformation into cities.

In tracing the history of pilgrimages from medieval to contemporary times, Turner provides some evidence to show that pilgrims also visited 'bordellos' which were found along pilgrimage routes. Indeed, according to him, adultery was quite common at pilgrimage shrines. In Turner's view, the meaning of pilgrimage lies in the experience of 'flow'. Flow is 'the merging of action and awareness with the crucial component of enjoyment'. According to him, 'flow' was a constitutive experience for pilgrims during their quest for the sacred.⁵

⁵ This anthropological concept of 'flow' is akin to Goffman's 'action'. See Chapter Six.

Van Gennep's theoretical heritage and Turner's work on pilgrimages, and, in particular, his notion of liminality, have informed several studies of foreign travel experiences (e.g., Graburn, 1977; Pfaffenberger, 1983; Gottlieb, 1982). Graburn was one of the first analysts to develop his thinking along lines similar to those of Turner. In conceptualising foreign travel as a contemporary form of pilgrimage, Graburn maintains that tourism is 'functionally and symbolically equivalent to other institutions' that people use to 'add meaning to their lives' (1977: 17). This functionalist model shifts the emphasis from the tourist's need for authenticity in the 'other' to the tourist's need for 'recreation'. Tourism is 'one of those necessary breaks from ordinary life that characterises all human societies... it is necessary for the maintenance of mental and bodily health' (Graburn, 1977: 15).

Influenced by Durkheim's work on religion, Graburn asserts that the passage of time alternates between 'profane and sacred' time. Life exhibits these two categories, or, put more simply, it contains both 'ordinary' and 'non-ordinary' time periods. He sees a contrast between the profane or ordinary, mundane everyday life of work and home and the 'sacred', 'non-ordinary', 'away from home', special time. Developing Durkheim's assertion that anything can be sacred, Graburn argues that tourism involves vacation time taken away from home, in a non-ordinary world, and therefore that it is, by analogy, sacred, in the sense 'of being exciting, renewing, and inherently self-fulfilling' (1977: 23).

As he expresses this notion:

'perhaps more real than real life. Vacation times and tourism are described as 'I was really living, living it up... I've never felt so alive', in contrast to the daily humdrum

often termed a 'dog's life'... thus holidays...make life worth living as though ordinary life is not life or at least not the kind of life worth living.'

(1977: 22).

From this point of view, tourism like religion in the past, makes human existence meaningful. It answers questions about the self and the world we live in. It is important to note here, that, unlike MacCannell, et al., Graburn's tourist is on a quest for a new self: 'we are a new person who has gone through recreation and if we do not feel renewed, the whole point of tourism has been missed' (ibid.: 23).

Summer vacations away from home are seen as being analogous to a sacred journey, since they mark a rite of passage from the profane experience of everyday life to the sacred experience of the holiday atmosphere in another place. Travel away from home functions as a rite of 'renewal' and 'recreation', marked by a beginning, a series of events along the way, and an end or a return to the ordinary home environment.

In arguing that the essence of tourism is recreation, Graburn makes too large a claim. It is not easily applicable to those tourists who seek adventure, as opposed to, or even as well as, recuperation and regeneration during their vacation. As we will see later in this thesis, a two week vacation in Chalkidiki appears to have multiple meanings, suggesting the need for an approach to understanding tourists' experiences which pays due regard to the differences, as well as the similarities, in tourists' needs and wants.

h) The Liminal Tourist

In his study of the touristic experience in Gambia, Wagner (1977) applied Turner's concepts of *communitas* and *anti-structure*. In so doing, he attempts to explain the

previously unexamined playful and permissive behaviour of tourists. According to him, the touristic experience is on the whole 'liminal'. In his study of charter tourism, Wagner writes that the Scandinavian tourists in Gambia indulge in 'spontaneous communitas' type behaviour. For him, this is 'the essence' of the tourist experience (ibid.: 44).

'The essence of being a mass tourist in many ways means the taking part in a spontaneous and existential communitas'.....normless living during the holiday is probably of great importance as it may liberate the individual from the stresses and pains imposed by the formal structure of his own society and give him a chance to recuperate, to recharge the inner being, even to make it pleasurable to get back once again to work and to the order and regularity of everyday life.'

From this point of view, tourism is seen as an escape from the bonds of everyday social structure. It is essentially a recreational activity in which the individual finds release and relief, and serves as a 'pressure-valve' for him or herself. Such touristic activities are functional in that they reinforce an individual's allegiance to the 'centre', i.e., the home environment. Hence, there is no need for a typology of tourists, since from this perspective the essence of the tourist experience is a spontaneous communitas in a liminal touristic space.

The value of this study lies in the fact that Wagner (ibid.) takes into consideration the encounter of tourists with locals, which is an important component of the touristic experience. Thus he notes that occasionally friendships may be formed as a result of these social contacts. Such friendships, for instance, between female tourists and young males are said to be of an instrumental nature. Wagner has observed that since Scandinavian charter tourists started to fly to Gambia, there has also been a small flow of young Gambians to Stockholm, the 'promised land'. Thus, as a result of their

encounters with tourists, some young Gambians have been 'imported' by their 'lovesick paramours' or 'patrons'. He writes that it is doubtful that such friendships would ever have been made in 'ordinary life'.

Likewise, Lett's (1983) study of charter yacht tourism in the Caribbean provides ethnographic evidence that many tourists indulge in 'unlimited hedonism', that is casual sex and drink, thereby experiencing Turner's spontaneous *communitas*. For him, such conduct revitalises tourists for their return to their structured everyday life. In his interpretation, tourism is seen as functional for the individual and society. It compensates the individual for the demands of their working everyday life. Lett writes that 'the ludic and liminoid licence provides a temporary release from, but not a permanent alternative to, everyday life' (ibid.: 54). Thus, like Wagner, Lett also sees everyday life as arduous, and tourism as a source of liberation and compensation for the individual.

Contrasting everyday work with tourism as genuine free time, he insists that to be a tourist is to opt out of ordinary social reality. Instead of duty and structure, the tourist has freedom and carefree fun. From his study of tourists and their holiday pursuits, he concluded that they 'begin to play at the moment they abandon the restrictions and requirements of everyday life and enter vacation time' (ibid.: p43). Tourists play with the rules of everyday life, particularly the rules applicable to social relationships, personal indulgence and sexual behaviour.

Lett's study reveals that some female tourists commented upon their 'increased sexual appetites in the British Virgin Islands, while many males boasted of their increased virility'. 'Sex with strangers' is part of the collective fantasy of an adventurous holiday, shared by many holidaymakers.

There are several other studies which offer a similar interpretation of the touristic experience (e.g., Moore, 1980; Gottlieb, 1982; Shields, 1992). The main thrust of these works is that in going away on holiday, people experience a 'non-ordinary' or a 'liminal' world that liberates the individuals and enables them to indulge in pleasurable pursuits. In contrast to those studies that are concerned with the authenticity of touristic spaces (e.g., Boorstin, *ibid.*; MacCannell, *ibid.*), from this functionalist perspective, holiday resorts are seen as the 'playgrounds' where tourists can enjoy the experience of liminality.

While ethnographic evidence from Kalimeria indicates that certain tourist types do perceive Kalimeria as a 'liminal' space, and feel free to do as they please, the study also provides evidence that foreign visitors to Chalkidiki are characterised by a highly diversified pattern of interests, and activities. There is not one type of tourist.

i) Tourists in 'Free Areas'

Cohen and Taylor's (1992) study resonates with the notion of the 'liminal' world of tourism. Like many other commentators, they view tourism as an escape from everyday life into a 'free area', a notion which is isomorphic with the concept of a 'liminal space' (Lett, 1983; Shields 1992). Drawing upon Goffman's work (1959), and employing the

'prison' metaphor, Cohen and Taylor perceive the modern world as a prison and tourism as a sanctioned escape route, a 'voyage of self-discovery'. Tourists, like the inmates of a prison, need to escape the unpleasant and monotonous reality of everyday life. People have a need to get away from everything, to 'let their hair down' (ibid.: 131). Thus, when things get on top of them, people:

'look elsewhere to cope with routine, boredom, lack of individuality, frustration... We want a genuine escape, a flight to an area in which we can temporarily absent ourselves from paramount reality, find ourselves out of play, and assemble our identity in peace.... Society creates just such areas and assiduously signposts them.'

(ibid.: 112)

Like Graburn (ibid.), they see tourism as a physical and mental escape from the reality of everyday life. Holidays are 'free areas' where 'lives are rejuvenated if not changed' (ibid.: 131). However, in contradistinction from Graburn's view, Cohen and Taylor argue that visiting a holiday resort changes only 'one part of the home such as the weather' (ibid.: 137). From this point of view, a holiday in a Greek holiday resort is equivalent to England plus 'sunshine'. Tourists rarely experience the authenticity of the 'other', the real Greece of traditional hospitality. What all tourists experience when they visit holiday destinations such as Greece is 'shops selling tea like mother makes'. And, although tourists return feeling relaxed, all that they have to show for it, is a 'suntan rather than a new self' (ibid.: 136).

Together with MacCannell (ibid.), they assert that the tourist industry creates 'staged back regions' especially for package holidaymakers. Furthermore, these writers share the view that holidaymakers:

'even when searching for authenticity are capable of ironically commenting on their disappointment in not finding it: they see through the staged authenticity of the tourist setting and laugh about it. An exposure to the back region - that is, an awareness that

things are not quite what they seem - is a casual part of the tourist experience. What they see in the back is only another show'(ibid.: 135).

Their conceptualisation of the tourist is similar to Urry's post-tourist who is aware of the commodification of the touristic experience. Thus, Cohen and Taylor argue that despite the travel brochure's promise of an authentic experience of the 'other', tourists know that they are more likely 'to be sitting in a crowded bar with a dentist from Leicester' (ibid.: 134). In this interpretation, tourists are aware that they spend their holidays in a contrived tourist environment and, more importantly, they distance themselves from it by mocking it. Furthermore, it is suggested that tourists benefit from these contrived and inauthentic experiences, because they provide a vehicle for mental and physical recuperation.

It is interesting to note that they do not see the tourist as gullible, but as capable of being ironic about pseudo-events. Clearly, this study also sees the touristic experience as contrived and inauthentic. Like Boorstin, Cohen and Taylor (ibid.) also assume that all tourists are insulated from the real host environment. Although tourists attempt to escape the system, they are reabsorbed by the system itself.

While their study displays similar weaknesses to those of the studies discussed earlier, the value of Cohen and Taylor's model lies in the fact that it recognises that holidays also provide 'a taste of freedom', a fact which has not been considered by MacCannell, et al. What is suggested here is that the tourist may be either in search of the 'real self' or of 'a new cultural world'. This approach recognises that tourism provides an area of freedom, for free expression and self-development. In these free areas, 'tourists may

also act out their fantasies' (ibid.: 115). Clearly this is still a global analysis of the touristic experience. More significantly, their analysis suggests that the flight from everyday life is no more than an experience of home plus sunshine. The experience of the 'promised land' has become commodified and homogenised. The validity of this assumption is open to doubt. As we will see in a later part of this thesis, the repeat visitors' narratives show that they can achieve an authentic experience by interacting with their Greek hosts.

3.4 Conclusion

As can be seen from the preceding review of the literature, a major focus of contention concerns the nature of the tourist (as opposed to the traveller of the past). Is s/he: a passive observer (e.g., Boorstin, et al.); or a serious traveller (e.g., MacCannell, et al); or a virtual tourist (e.g., Feifer); or a post-modern tourist (e.g., Urry, et al.); or a recreational spectator (e.g., Graburn, Cohen and Taylor)? Or is s/he merely a seeker of sexual pleasures, that is someone who wants to have a good time (Lett, et al). The theme of escape, whether it be from a boring, routinised, alienated, everyday life (Boorstin, Nash, Hiller, MacCannell, and many others), or from a profane, ordinary, everyday life (Graburn, et al) unites all these approaches. They all suggest, either explicitly or implicitly, that modern society is inauthentic and alienating and that it drives occidentals to leave their home environment. They differ however in their analysis of the 'pull' factors, which include: looking for meaning and authenticity in 'authentic places'; embarking on a journey, whether it be of self-discovery, or a journey of self-recovery; or seeking release into a free or ludic space warranting hedonistic excess.

Throughout this chapter I have argued that the sample of studies reviewed make empirically unsubstantiated generalisations about tourism and tourists. This casts doubt on the validity of these interpretations of the touristic experience. As we saw, a commonly held view found in many studies is that tourism is 'media driven' (e.g., Watson and Kopachevski, 1996). It is widely recognised that media, and in particular travel brochures, are the primary source of information about tourist destinations and its 'signs' of authenticity. The tourist industry is said to play an important role in shaping tourists' wants and expectations. In particular, travel brochures are seen to be influential in determining tourists' perceptions of a destination (e.g., Boorstin, et al.). However, the assumption that tourists are 'mere suckers for the surfaces of the tourist brochures' is too 'simplistic' (Selwyn, 1996: 29). Reading a travel brochure is a 'creative act' which varies according to its user (Fiske, 1989). To date, analysts have paid close attention 'to the semiotic surroundings and believe that others do too... The alternative is to treat people as active agents interacting with real structures... Even in leisure, people act intentionally, although in doing so they may slice the world along a different grain to that expected by the analyst' (Mellor, 1991: 114).

It is also clear, that all of the studies reviewed here deploy an underdeveloped conceptualisation of 'the tourist', treating him/her as a member of a self evident and homogeneous category. The voice of the 'tourist' is hardly heard in the existing literature. However, without close attention to the tourist's voice, such studies risk being descriptively and empirically flawed. As MacCannell has observed, 'we still lack adequate perspectives for the study of pseudo events. The construction of such perspectives necessarily begins with the tourists themselves' (ibid.: 76). While this study

shares MacCannell's premise, it also argues that in order to understand the touristic experience, it is necessary to go beyond the all encompassing label 'the tourist'. Development of a tourist typology is an essential technique for a better understanding of this phenomenon (Dann, 1981; Cohen, 1984; Yiannakis and Gibson, 1992).

CHAPTER FOUR

Typologies of Tourist Roles and Experiences

4.1 Introduction

There exists a body of literature, which demonstrates that some analysts have felt the need to sub-divide the category 'tourist' (e.g., Gray, 1970; Cohen, 1972 and 1979a; Smith, 1977; Pearce, 1982; Hamilton-Smith, 1987; Snepenger, 1987; Yiannakis and Gibson, 1992; Mo, Howard and Havitz, 1993; Ryan and Robertson, 1997). These writings demonstrate the increasing recognition amongst academics (and market researchers), that an understanding of tourism as a social phenomenon requires the construction of a tourist typology. It is argued that focusing 'on the tourists themselves and their typological forms', allows the development of our understanding of why people are attracted to specific holiday destinations. It will also provide insights into 'types of activities or behaviour' and the 'nature' of tourists' holiday experiences of a visited host community (Jafary, 1989: 26-27) This chapter explores the strengths and weaknesses of the various typologies found in the literature.

4.2 Typologies as Heuristic Devices

Cohen (1972) was one of the first sociologists to propose a tourist typology as part of his attempt to provide a conceptual clarification of the term 'tourist'. His classification is often cited in academic studies of tourism and tourists, and attempts have been made to develop and refine it (e.g., Smith, 1977; Pearce, 1982; Redfoot, 1984). More recently, Cohen's classification has been empirically tested (e.g., Mo, Howard and Havitz, 1993). However, Cohen's work, and its subsequent development by his followers, is by no means the only example of this type of work (e.g., Plog, 1974).

Although these studies demonstrate the usefulness of typologies in research of this kind¹, there is a need for further work to be undertaken in order to develop our understanding of tourism and tourists' experiences and behaviour.

As Jafari (1989: 27) points out:

'Typological distinctions are important for analytic purposes.....it is the typology - whether as an analytical tool or interpretative frame - which influences, for example, the availability and kind of touristic supply or the nature of encounters between the hosts and guests. This in turn brings into focus topics such as tourism motivation, experience, and sociocultural consequences due to each type of tourist as well as types of tourism such as beach tourism, ethnic tourism, and business tourism.'

The focus of this study is tourists themselves and it was therefore decided to construct a tourist typology which could be used as a heuristic device to aid the analysis of the ethnographic data collected. The typology presented in Chapter Six not only aided the comparison and interpretation of early ethnographic data collected in the summer of 1993, but it also helped me to gradually focus my research in the next wave of data collection (see Chapter Two). The five typological forms which emerged from the first round of data collection were further tested and re-tested in the field (summers 1995 and 1996). This methodological tool guided my fieldwork by providing me with a sufficient degree of structure within which to proceed, while at the same time aiding the interpretation of the varieties of tourist's experiences found in Chalkidiki.

The decision to use this tool in my research was influenced by a recognition of the complexity of the phenomenon under investigation. My thinking during the early stages

¹ Classifications of tourists in terms of their social characteristics and/or the purpose of their foreign trip have also been devised by professionals in the tourism field (e.g., market researchers). See, for example, Mo, Howard and Havitz, (1993); Burns and Holden (1995); and Mazanec, (1995). These writers make the point that the value of tourist typologies is also recognised by the industry itself. Tourist typologies provide the industry with valuable information on tourist's desires and needs, which is used to promote a particular place as a tourist destination.

of research was shaped particularly by the writings of a number of thinkers (Cohen, 1972, 1974 and 1979a; Dann, 1981 and 1988; Pearce, 1982). In their writings they make the important point that capturing the complexity of the social phenomenon under study, requires a theoretical approach which includes a 'tourist typology/continuum'. As Dann (1981: 195), points out, 'in the right hands a classificatory scheme represents a powerful instrument' for understanding this phenomenon. However, he also reminds us that a tourist typology is a heuristic device constructed to aid research and that, therefore, our categories of tourists are best seen as 'ideal typical constructs' in Weber's sense of the terms.

The limitations associated with the use of this technique in research of this kind are also recognised in this study (see Chapter Six). The value of the typology proposed in this thesis should be assessed in terms of two considerations. These are, its effectiveness in guiding my fieldwork, and in its power as an analytical tool ².

4.3 Tourists: A Conceptual Clarification

Several attempts have been made to provide a conceptual clarification of the term 'tourist'. One of the early attempts was by the U.N. Conference on International Travel and Tourism in 1963 (Cohen, 1974: 530), which defined international tourists as:

'...temporary visitors staying at least 24 hours in the country visited and the purpose of whose journey can be classified under one of the following headings:

- i) Leisure (recreation, holiday, health, study, religion, sport);
- ii) business, family, missions, meeting.'

² See Ryan (1995) for the usefulness of tourist typologies and their limitations.

Seen as transient visitors to another country, this definition lumps into a single category people travelling for a wide variety of different purposes, ranging from business to leisure. In so doing, it ignores any differences in the expectations of these travellers. However, travelling abroad, for example for business purposes, differs considerably from holiday travel in that 'the businessman has little discretion in his choice of destination or the timing of his trip.....Because his company will be paying for the tour, he is less concerned about the price for...facilities at the destination'. (Holloway, 1986:6).

Of more importance, from the perspective of this research such broad definitions are of limited use, in that they fail to make a distinction between leisure/holiday travel and other types of travel. The experience of travellers who visit another country for work-related purposes will differ considerably from those who are staying in the host community for leisure/holiday-related purposes (Cohen, 1974). This point is reiterated by several other studies (e.g., Lundberg, 1985; Urry, 1991).

However, other definitions have been proposed which distinguish between tourists travelling for leisure/holiday-related purposes and other kind of travellers (Cohen, 1972 and 1974; MacCannell, 1973 and 1976; Graburn, 1977; Smith, 1977; Moore, 1980; Pearce and Moscardo, 1986; Ryan, 1991 and 1994; Urry, 1991; Yiannakis and Gibson, 1992; Horna, 1994).

The following table distinguishes between a number of analytically separate travel motivations.

<u>Leisure (L)</u>	<u>Business (B)</u>	<u>Work (W)</u>	<u>Other (O)</u>
Holiday	Business	Migratory-	Study
Pleasure	transaction	Also, combined	Religion
Recreation	Meeting	with (L)	Health
Experience	Conference	or with (O)	Sport
(Singly or	Also, combined		Also, combined
Combined)	with (L) or		with (L) or
	with (O)		with (B)

For the purposes of this study, the most useful distinction is that between leisure and other types of motivation. This is a distinction between tourists and other types of travellers. Travellers, in the sense that this term is used here, have instrumental reasons for travelling. By creating this dichotomy, we can define the tourist in more specific terms as a 'temporarily leisured person who voluntarily visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing a change' (Smith, 1989: 1).

Cohen (1974) has proposed a two-fold classification of tourists - 'sightseers' and 'vacationers'. Sightseers seek 'novelty' and visit 'attractions...such as old towns, archaeological sites, natural sights, artistic treasures, etc.,' while vacationers seek 'change', for example, a 'holiday on the beach' which is a 'welcomed change' and appreciated for what it is (ibid.: 545). However, this typological distinction is not useful for the purposes of this study. As we will see in Chapter Six, many tourists in Chalkidiki combine sightseeing with vacationing.

Classifications of tourists in terms of their holiday interests have also been proposed. For example, Gray (1970) created a two-fold typology - the 'sunlust' and the 'wanderlust' tourist. The sunlust type is interested in sunbathing and visits popular holiday resorts

such as Kalimeria, in Chalkidiki. The wanderlust tourist is interested in experiencing the strangeness of another country, and is more likely to visit places that do not cater for mass tourism. The wanderlust tourist is reminiscent of Boorstin's traveller of the past and the sunlust type describes all those who participate in mass-produced tourism³.

Those analysts who deploy the postmodernist perspective have made a more recent contribution. They draw a distinction between 'the traveller of the past', 'the modern mass tourist', and 'the post-modern tourist' (e.g., Urry, 1991). The first type resembles Boorstin's elite traveller. The modern mass tourist travels in organised groups enjoying the 'other' from the security of a hotel complex. The post-modern type who chooses to either be a 'real' tourist through a direct experience of a holiday destination, or to become an 'armchair'-tourist, enjoying an indirect experience of the 'authentic' or the exotic by virtual tourism. This broadening of the definition of the tourist to include what has been called the post-tourist confuses significant experiential differences between tourists. The distinction drawn may be innovative, but it is not helpful for the purposes of this study (see, also, Chapter Three).

Other classificatory schemes have divided up tourists in terms of travel 'motivation' (e.g., the 'pull and push' factors that make people choose a holiday destination). These are discussed in the next sections.

³ For a review of the supposed dichotomy between the 'elite traveller' of the past and the modern 'mass tourist', see Chapter Three.

4.4 Motivational Typologies

a) Holiday Type: Pull Factors

i) Degree of Institutionalisation

Cohen (1972: 164) was one of the first sociologists to propose a theoretical approach to the study of tourism and tourists, which included 'a typology of tourists on the basis of their relationship to both the tourist establishment and the host country'. In his review of the existing writings on this phenomenon, he found that social scientists had paid 'scant attention' to tourism as a leisure activity. He argued that this neglect had meant that our understanding of the 'tourist' travelling for 'pleasure' purposes was limited and based on the 'common-sensical' perspective of someone who goes abroad to take pictures and to have a 'good time' (Boorstin, 1964).

By contrast, Cohen (1974: 533) proposed a conceptualisation of the 'tourist' as:

‘...a voluntary and temporary traveller, travelling in the expectation of pleasure from the novelty and change experienced on a relatively long and non-recurrent round trip’

This conception of the tourist is useful, in that it distinguishes tourists travelling for 'non-instrumental' purposes (e.g., pleasure, recreation) from other types of international travellers (e.g., business people, seasonal workers) whose travel purpose is work-related and, therefore, 'instrumental'.

In his attempt to provide a conceptual clarification of the term 'tourist', Cohen (1972) groups them according to their 'degree of institutionalisation', that is, the degree to which the s/he is willing to directly experience the 'unfamiliar' and the 'novel' in the host community. To quote him: 'the degree to which strangeness or familiarity prevail

in the tourist role determines the nature of the tourist's experiences as well as the effect he has on the host society' (Cohen, 1972: 177).

The 'institutionalised tourist' is sub-divided into the 'organised mass tourist' and 'individual mass tourist', while the 'non-institutionalised' tourist is split into the 'drifter' and the 'explorer' types. Briefly stated, explorers make their own arrangements for their trip and avoid contact with the 'environmental bubbles' ⁴ that institutionalised tourists inhabit. While these independent travellers try to get off the beaten track, they still use some tourist facilities such as comfortable accommodation and reliable transport. In general, explorers desire to mix with local people, and avoid developed tourist destinations such as Chalkidiki. Novelty dominates and familiarity is at minimum.

Like the explorers, drifters plan their own trips and avoid contact with the institutionalised tourists. Drifters 'go native' in the visited community, by adopting the practices of the natives. These travellers often find temporary employment as a means of financing their chosen alternative life style. This type of traveller is said to be wholly immersed in the host community. Novelty dominates and familiarity almost disappears. In Cohen's view, the non-institutionalised tourists are the 'pathfinders' for mass tourism. Places discovered by explorers and drifters gradually become popular tourist attractions and are thus opened up to institutionalised tourists.

⁴ According to Cohen and many others commentators (e.g., MacCannell, 1976), an environmental bubble isolates tourists from the host society (see Chapter 3). The theme of isolation is discussed fully in Chapters Six and Chapter Eight.

Within this classification, the role of the institutionalised tourist is typified by the package holiday. Institutionalised tourists use the facilities provided by tour operators. Described as the most 'commercially-oriented' tourists, they visit popular destinations such as Chalkidiki which cater specifically for this type of consumer. Further, 'organised mass tourists' are characterised as 'the least adventurous' tourists, spending most of their time in a 'touristic bubble', usually a hotel complex with its westernised comforts and standardised services and recreational facilities. All itineraries are planned in advance, and decisions are left to the tour operators. 'Familiarity is at maximum and novelty at a minimum' (Cohen, 1972: 167). It is interesting to note that this type of tourist is reminiscent of Boorstin's tourist, experiencing the novelty of a strange place from the security of 'the microenvironment of his home country' (Cohen, *ibid.*).

By contrast, the individual mass tourists, unlike the organised mass tourists, have some control over their holiday itinerary, for instance what to see and where to go. Nevertheless, the individual mass tourist remains for most of the time within the touristic bubble and does not mix with members of the host community. Hence, familiarity dominates, but the experience of novelty is 'somewhat greater though it is often of the routine kind' (Cohen, *ibid.*: 168).

From this point of view, tourism has created the following 'paradox: though the desire for variety, novelty, and strangeness are the primary motives of tourism, these qualities have decreased as tourism has become institutionalised' (Cohen, 1972: 172). That is to say, what the institutionalised tourist experiences is mass produced, planned, packaged, and, consequently, inauthentic in MacCannell's and Boorstin's sense of this term. And

this is where, in my view, Cohen oversimplifies. Like MacCannell and many others, Cohen assumes that the tourist industry inhibits tourists from experiencing the visited host community, and in so doing, he also makes the assertion that tourists observe rather than actually experience the host country ⁵. Ethnographic evidence from Chalkidiki indicates that the individual mass tourists is a polymorphous consumer, and that different types of tourists experience the same host community in a variety of ways. Furthermore, evidence reveals that certain tourist types can achieve an 'authentic' experience by interacting with local people.

In summary, the strength of Cohen's typology is that it reflects a specific definition of the term 'tourism' as a 'modern cultural experience' of a host country. Also, his typology recognises that the tourist is not a homogenous category and attempts to specify tourist types in terms of clearly expressed dimensions (i.e., institutional/non-institutional, familiar/strange). Its shortcomings are that it is written at too high a level of generality and it implicitly focuses on the structural aspects of the tourist industry and its impact on the host country. In so doing, it categorises the tourists in terms of the degree of commercialisation of the host environment.

Despite Cohen's refinement of the term 'tourist', he still asserts that, because institutionalised tourists are dealt with 'in a routine way by the tourist establishment.....travel companies, hotel chains, etc., which cater to the tourist trade' (ibid.: 169), tourists return to their home environment 'without any real feel for the

⁵ The theme of the standardisation of tourist facilities and the arguments surrounding the transformation of cultural attractions into 'pseudo/inauthentic/artificial' touristic attractions are further discussed in Chapters Seven and Eight. I discuss the issue of the tourist's physical and social isolation in Chapter Eight.

culture or people of the country' (ibid.: 173.). There is still an implicit contrast between the non-institutionalised tourists as active participants and the institutionalised tourists as passive consumers of the familiar. As Jafari (1989: 26) points out, 'labelled differently drifters and explorers are travellers and organised mass tourists and individual mass tourists are tourists'.

ii) Tourists' Adaptations to Local Norms

Building upon Cohen's work, Smith (1977) proposed a seven-fold typology: explorer, elite, offbeat, unusual, incipient mass, mass, and charter. These types of tourists are distinguished in terms of two dimensions: the number of tourists and their adaptations to local norms. Explorers and off-beats are similar to Cohen's explores and drifters respectively, in that they avoid contact with the touristic bubbles and the people who inhabit them, and hence are more likely to experience the 'real' life of the host country. Elite travellers who have been almost everywhere and are more likely to experience the luxuries of an expensive holiday (that is luxury hotels and facilities, etc.). Unusual tourists, incipient mass tourists, mass tourists and charter tourists are roughly equivalent collectively to Cohen's institutionalised tourists who visit popular holiday destinations such as Chalkidiki. Unusual tourists however break away from the organised holiday and hence are more likely to experience the culture of the host community. Like Cohen, Smith (ibid.: 10) also concludes that:

'The tourist bubble of Western amenities is very much in evidence...hotels have standardised the services to Western tastes ... destination may be of very little importance to tourists'.

The following table illustrates Smith's classification of tourists in terms of their numbers and adaptations to local norms.

<u>Type of Tourist</u>	<u>Numbers of Tourists</u>	<u>Adaptation to Local Norms</u>
Explorer	Very limited	Accepts fully
Elite	Rarely seen	Adapts fully
Off-Beat	Uncommon but seen	Adapts well
Unusual	Occasional	Adapts somewhat
Incipient Mass	Steady flow	Seeks Western amenities
Mass	Continuous influx	Expects Western amenities
Charter	Massive arrivals	Demands Western amenities

In Smith's scheme, the last three categories, - the incipient mass, mass and charter tourists are not conceptually clearly distinguished. For instance, statements such as the tourist either 'seeks', 'expects' or 'demands' Western amenities are unilluminating. Smith needs to specify unambiguously what the differences between these categories of tourists are. The strength of this typology is that it goes some way towards recognising the heterogeneity of 'the tourist'.

iii) Collecting Gazes

In a similar vein to Cohen (1972), Redfoot (1984) constructed a four-fold typology of tourists: the 'first-order or true tourist'; the 'second order or Angst-ridden tourist'; the 'third-order or anthropological tourist'; and the 'fourth-order or spiritual tourist'. Briefly stated, the first-order tourist is similar to Cohen's institutionalised tourist 'visiting famous places, while comfortably avoiding 'real' contact with the surrounding environment...moulded by travel brochures,... expectations are well formed in advance as to just what one is 'supposed' to experience' (ibid.: 293). For the first-order tourist the experience of the host country is predictable, standardised, and mass produced. Like the institutionalised tourist, the first-order tourist does not have any 'real' contact with members of the host community. What they experience is an artificial touristic space

purposely build to cater for their 'needs' and 'wants'. This type of tourist is not interested in the authenticity of the 'other'. The 'true tourist' is merely a consumer of 'well-known sights.....this tourist seeks only a good time, getting away from it all' (ibid.: 292). Also, like many other like-minded thinkers (e.g., Urry, 1991), Redfoot sees visiting famous cultural sights in the host country and taking their pictures as the 'pull' motivational factor of an individual's foreign trip.

The second order tourist is similar to MacCannell's tourist in search of the authentic. Being aware of the inauthenticity of the touristic experience, the second order tourist 'experiences a considerable amount of anxiety and shame in being labelled a tourist' (ibid.: 296). Thus, second-order tourists tend to travel off-season, and alone, and prefer to stay and have their meals 'in places that only the locals know about' (ibid.: 296). In contrast to the first-order tourists, the second-order tourists are 'serious travellers' in that, although they too travel in order to take pictures of the visited host community, photography for them is 'seen as a means of personal expression, an art form, or even as an occupation' (ibid.: 297). It enables the second-order tourist to capture something 'authentic about the lives of the people observed' (ibid.). In order to achieve their goal, that is, 'to take pictures of authentic scenes' not found in brochures, these tourists, like Cohen's drifters, are willing to experience some physical discomfort, during their holiday.

The third-order, or anthropological tourist, resembles Cohen's and Smith's explorer, spending a great deal of time travelling around the host country and taking pictures of 'real natives'. Anthropological tourists are seen as observers, in that although they are

in search for the authentic in the 'primitive other', they are only 'spectators of the vanishing realities'. Even in places where mass tourism is absent, their identity and their uniqueness is gradually vanishing. Redfoot's fourth-order tourist is like Cohen's drifter who goes native in the host community and becomes emotionally involved in the lives of the hosts. By mixing with locals, and living the way they do, the forth-order tourist can achieve an authentic experience of the host country.

On closer examination, we can see that Redfoot's first-order and the second-order tourists share many characteristics of Cohen's institutionalised tourists. Also, his first-order tourist is reminiscent of Boorstin's tourist, who goes abroad to take pictures with his 'Kodak Instamatic camera' (Redfoot, *ibid.*: 296). His second-order tourist is like MacCannell's who is in search for authenticity in the other.

Redfoot's typology of international modern travellers suffers from similar shortcomings to those studies previously analysed and consequently does not advance our understanding of the touristic experience. His account of the first and second order tourist's experience of the host country really tell us more about his interests in the kinds of photographs taken by international travellers/tourists, than about their experiences of a visited place and its people. Tourism is not isomorphic with sightseeing and taking photographs that can be placed 'among the weddings, births, graduations, and other family-centered events that are collected in the family album' (Redfoot, *ibid.*: 306). Redfoot's interests have led him to reach a similar conclusion to that found in Urry's (*ibid.*) work that the motivation of tourists results from the need to gaze on sights and places (see Chapter Three).

iv) The Purpose of a Trip

Based on the purpose of a trip, Smith (1977) proposed a five-fold classification of tourism: ethnic, cultural, historical, environmental and recreational. Ethnic tourists are similar to Cohen's explorers. In the cultural form of tourism, tourists gaze at the 'peasant cultures' of the visited host community, 'for the purpose of.....photographing the lives of peasants' (ibid.: 2). The historical form of tourism attracts primarily educated visitors who participate in activities including 'guided tours of monuments and ruins'. An example of this would be the organised tours to the historical monuments of Athens. Recreational tourism is 'often sand, sea, and sex - ...attracts tourists who want to relax or commune with nature. Destination activities center upon participation in sports, curative spas, or sunbathing, as well as good food and convivial entertainment' (Smith, ibid.: 3). Although interesting because it draws attention to the tourist's purpose or motivation, this typology suffers significantly from being uni-dimensional, with tourists having to be shoe-horned into it.

v) Psychological Models

Classifications based on the reasons why tourists travel, have also been proposed by psychologists (e.g., Plog, 1974; Pearce, 1982). Plog's model, which is widely cited in studies of tourists and tourism (see Ross, 1994), is based on empirical work which was aimed primarily at explaining differences in the travel behaviour of American 'flyers' and 'non-flyers'. His five-fold classification scheme of the 'psychocentric', the 'near-psychocentric', 'mid-centric', 'near allocentric' and 'allocentric' tourists, is constructed in terms of personality characteristics, such as nervousness and self-inhibition, as well as destination choice.

Plog's psychocentrics and near psychocentrics tourists are reminiscent of Cohen's institutionalised tourists. Described as the 'least adventurous' tourists, Plog maintains that they prefer the familiar atmosphere of an 'environmental bubble' in popular holiday destinations. Unlike Cohen's tourists, and because of their 'nervousness' and fear of flying, psychocentrics and near psychocentrics prefer to travel to holiday destinations which can easily be reached by car. The allocentrics and near allocentrics tourists share similar characteristics to Cohen's non-institutionalised tourists. Described by Plog as 'adventurous', they are more likely to choose places which are 'untouched' by mass tourism, and hence are more likely to travel long distances to places such as Africa. Finally the mid-centric American tourists are less adventurous than the last two types and are more likely to travel to holiday destinations such as Europe. This model assumes that personality characteristics (such as lack of confidence, self-inhibition, anxieties about travel, fear of the unfamiliar, and of 'otherness') are important in determining people's travel motives and, therefore, their choice of a holiday destination. It is worth noting here that in this classification scheme the term tourist is being used to describe both domestic and international American tourists/holidaymakers.

Clearly, the above classification says more about Plog's interests, (for instance 'who is not flying' and the reasons behind it) rather than the tourists' wants, feelings and experiences of other places. Plog was primarily concerned to develop a classificatory scheme of domestic and international tourists 'that could be used to predict travel patterns and develop better ways of marketing' the holiday 'product' to consumers in America (Plog, *ibid.*: 60). The theme of familiarity, and the assertion that tourists are physically and socially isolated from the host country are also evident in this

interpretation. He presumes that tourists are confined to a touristic bubble, and that they do not experience the 'real life' of the visited host environment.

Plog's main contribution to our understanding is his observation of the importance of tourism and holidaymaking in people's lives. Consuming other places and cultures 'gives our daily lives a new sense of enjoyment and meaning.....We envy neighbours or friends whose travels have been more exciting than our own...To experience the new, the different, or the unique by visiting foreign lands is our birthright, or so it would seem' (Plog, *ibid.*: 5). This interpretation of the meaning of foreign travel for leisure purposes parallels Urry's (1992: 4) observation that foreign travel represents a 'a sign of modern identity', of modern lifestyles, and that the consumption of different cultures and places has become a 'marker of citizenship' (see, also, Urry, 1989).

Another psychological classification is that found in Pearce's (1982) work. He has identified fifteen different types of international travellers: the tourist, the traveller, the holidaymaker, the jet-setter, the businessman, the migrant, the conservationist, the explorer, the missionary, the overseas student, the anthropologist, the hippie, the international athlete, the overseas journalist and the religious pilgrim. This model is based on the purpose of the foreign trip. Briefly stated, in Pearce's classification the tourist, the independent traveller, and the holidaymaker types overlap in that they all visit another country in order to see its famous monuments, to take photos and buy souvenirs. The independent traveller, however, differs in that s/he experiments with local food and explores places privately. Clearly, these three types resemble Cohen's and, therefore, share the same shortcomings.

vi) On-Site Holiday Activities

Cohen's (1972) work has also influenced Yiannakis and Gibson's (1992) study of tourist motivation and on-site holiday activities. Their fourteen-fold classification - the sun-lover, the action seeker, the anthropologist, the archaeologist, the organised mass tourist, the thrill seeker, the explorer, the jetsetter, seeker, independent mass tourist, the high-class tourist, the drifter, the escapist and the sport lover - is grounded in empirical work. The sun-lover is similar to the sunlust/recreational type (Gray, 1970; Smith, *ibid.*; Cohen, *ibid.*). The anthropologist, the explorer, the seeker, the escapist, and the drifter closely resemble Cohen's non-institutionalised tourists (i.e., the explorers). The archaeologist type is similar to Smith's historical tourist who is interested in the history of ancient civilisations and hence visits ancient monuments and sites. The organised mass, the independent mass, the jetsetter and the sport-lover closely resemble Cohen's institutionalised tourists. The high-class tourist is Smith's elite tourist, and the seeker type resembles Pearce's (1982) religious pilgrim in that this tourist type searches for the meaning of life elsewhere. Although the majority of these types resemble those found in other classification, it does introduce two new categories. The action-seeker who is interested in partying and going to night clubs, and the thrill seeker, interested in risky activities, such as sky-diving, which provide emotional highs for participants. The theme of 'escape' from the demands of everyday life, such as stressful jobs, is also found in this study.

While this last typology is an improvement on previous ones, in that it is clearly leisure/holiday based (excluding travellers such as journalists, business people and migrants who travel for work-related purposes), several of the categories are not

analytically clear. For example, the sun-seeker and the sport lover types overlap to some extent. Moreover, these types, as well as several others (e.g., the action-seeker, the archaeologist) could also be on a holiday organised by the tourist industry, and hence, they could also be placed in the broad category of 'organised mass' tourist. Furthermore, statements such as that the organised mass tourist visits famous places, takes pictures and buys souvenirs, and the independent mass visits tourist attractions, and 'plays it by ear' are unilluminating. This typology is limited in its ability to account for people's expectations and motivations. Nor does it tell us about tourists' experiences of the visited host community and its people.

b) The 'Push-Pull' Frame

Typological distinctions between tourists have also been made in terms of those motivational factors which, it is argued, 'push' people to leave their home environment (push factors) and those that 'pull' tourists to travel to a specific destination (pull factors). One such typology has been developed by Cohen (1979a) in his work, 'A Phenomenology of Tourist Experiences'.

In his later work on tourists' experiences of a visited host community, Cohen turned his attention to tourist motivation. He developed a five-fold typology of touristic experiences 'by analysing the different meanings which interest in and appreciation of the culture, social life and the natural environment of others has for the individual traveller' (ibid.: 183). At the heart of Cohen's analysis is the degree to which people's travel to another country represents a 'quest for the center' (ibid.). He identifies five modes of touristic experience: the 'recreational', the 'diversionary', the 'experiential', the

'experimental' and the 'existential'. In so doing, he attempts to integrate Boorstin's and MacCannell's types of tourists. Tourism in this classification is conceptualised as a 'quest' for a 'spiritual centre'. For those tourists who identify with their own societies' culture and values, the holiday is merely a 'recreation', an enjoyable form of entertainment. For them, the experience of travelling to another country is not a 'means of self-realisation or self-expansion', and hence it is not 'personally significant' to them (ibid.). These tourists, like Graburn's (1989a) tourists, are just 'getting away' from the pressures of daily lives.

In this classification, Cohen's recreational tourists resemble Graburn's (ibid.) tourists in that they 'enjoy' their trip, 'because it restores' their 'physical and mental powers' (Cohen, 1979a: 183). Furthermore, Cohen's recreational tourists resemble Boorstin's pleasure seekers who, it is argued, enjoy the inauthentic or 'contrived commercialised displays of the culture' of the host community (i.e., pseudo cultural events). Unlike Boorstin's tourists, Cohen's recreational tourists are aware of the inauthenticity of the 'other' but accept it for what it is, that is, a pleasurable and entertaining experience of the visited host country. Like Boorstin's tourists, Cohen's have no real interest in learning about the visited society and the culture in which their recreational experience takes place.

In contrast to the recreational tourist type, the diversionary type is seen as being alienated from the home society, and hence the foreign trip is said to be a 'diversion', undertaken by the alienated individual as a means of escape from the boredom and 'meaninglessness' of everyday life. This tourist type is also reminiscent of the tourists

found in the Marxist-oriented studies, in that foreign travel for pleasure purposes is an 'escape' from the alienation of modern society. Furthermore, like the recreational tourist, the diversionary type, is not in quest of a new 'spiritual centre', in the host country. What the diversionary tourists seek is an enjoyable experience of a holiday which may 'heal the body and soothe the spirit' (ibid.: 186). These two categories of touristic experience equate to Cohen's institutionalised tourists. As we will see in the following chapter, it is these institutionalised tourists who are found in Chalkidiki.

In searching for authenticity in the 'other', Cohen's experiential tourist is similar to MacCannell's type of tourist. However, the 'experiential mode of tourism....does not generate real religious experiences' writes Cohen (1979a: 188), which contrasts with MacCannell's assertion that the modern tourist is like the pilgrim of the past. In Cohen's view, their trip compensates for the 'inauthenticity' of the home life to which the tourist inevitably returns.

The experimental mode of touristic experience is characteristic of the 'non-institutionalised' tourist (for instance the drifter). Authenticity of experience is also essential for the drifters who seek alternative life styles in a host community. Finally the existential mode of touristic experience is characteristic of the traveller who chooses to 'go native' in a 'new spiritual centre' (Cohen, 1979a: 190). Alienated from the home society, the 'new spiritual centre' is located in the 'other' (i.e., in the visited host community). This type, who is at the other end of the spectrum to the recreational tourist, becomes wholly immersed in the host's culture (see the following Table).

<u>Cohen's Typologies</u>	
<u>Tourist Types (Cohen, 1972)</u>	
Institutionalised tourists	<u>Non-institutionalised tourists</u>
Organised Mass tourists	Explorers
Individual Mass tourists	Drifters
<u>Travel Motivation (Cohen, 1979a)</u>	
<u>Push - Factors</u>	
Pressures of daily life / Boredom and meaningless of everyday existence	Alienation or disenchantment of daily life
<u>Pull - Factors</u>	
A Quest for Pleasure	A Quest for a Spiritual Centre
<u>Motivational Types</u>	
Recreational: a pleasurable/relaxing experience homologous to mass entertainment	
Diversionary: a healing/enjoyable experience, an escape from routine	
Experiential: an aesthetic experience of 'otherness'	
Experimental: a quest for new/heightened experiences, alternative ways of life	
Existential: an experience of going native in the host country	

Taken together, Cohen's two classificatory schemes are of particular importance to this study. His focus on the degree of institutionalisation of the holiday consumed reflects an important reality for tourists. Similarly, the organised/individual mass distinction certainly says something about tourists' motivations, albeit at too high a level of generality to organise or illuminate the ethnographic data collected during my fieldwork.

Cohen's push/pull analysis of tourists' behaviour is insightful in that it moves us closer to a perspective, which gives centrality to motivational factors in understanding the touristic experience. However, this five-fold division is based on rather simplistic notions of what push factors are significant. In addition, the distinction between the five types are not very clearly drawn and therefore appear to overlap. A further criticism of Cohen's work is that his two typologies, although clearly related, do not articulate in any straightforward way. Nonetheless, they have been influential in shaping this study.

Cohen's contribution to our understanding of tourism as a social phenomenon is that his work provides direct continuity with both Boorstin's and MacCannell's theoretical models. Furthermore, Boorstin's original conception of the 'tourist' has become somewhat improved in the process, in that Cohen's recreational tourist is aware of the artificiality of the visited host community.

c) Values-Oriented Tourists

More recently, Poon (1993) has drawn a distinction between tourists in terms of their 'values'. Her two-fold classification suggests a supposedly new division between old tourists and new tourists, the latter being described as 'eco-tourists'. Eco-tourists 'experience something new; want to be in charge; see and enjoy but do not destroy'. This new tourist, however, is similar to Cohen's independent mass tourist who still makes use of some tourist facilities but has control over the holiday itinerary.

However, whether this new type exists as a distinct category is debatable. For instance, Wheeler (1993) questions the existence of the eco-tourist, describing this new type as

'elitist', since in his view, eco-tourism only attracts those people who are prepared to pay high prices. Implicit in this criticism is the suggestion that the differences between these two categories are insignificant, apart from the cost of the touristic product ⁶.

4.5 Conclusion

The foregoing analysis shows that researchers have typically classified tourists in terms of their behaviour, likes and dislikes. Such typologies are useful in that they recognise that tourism as an experience of a place is variable. However typological distinctions based on a single, or small number of factors provide an incomplete picture of this phenomenon.

In the light of the studies discussed in this chapter, I would argue that such classifications of tourists are limited in their explanatory power, when applied to the range of institutionalised tourists found in Chalkidiki. Further, these classifications are not 'entirely different from one another - in each case, the focus of the viewing lens is simply tinted differently' (Jafari, 1989: 27).

As we will see in the later parts of this thesis, the great variety of experiences enjoyed by institutionalised tourists have not been examined in previous studies. For instance, the experience of those individual mass tourists who return year after year to the same holiday resort have not even been considered by these analysts. These tourists' experience of the host country and its people is unquestionably much deeper than that of the first-time visitor. Furthermore, in the above typologies the tourist is portrayed as an

⁶ For a discussion of this 'alternative' form of tourism, which is said to be less damaging to the host community than traditional mass tourism, see Smith and Eadington (1992).

observer rather than a participant, an onlooker who does not interact at all with members of the host community. In my view, this is one of the main weaknesses of existing typologies in that they tend to ignore the social contacts of tourists with hosts. As Pearce (1982) has noted, tourists' perceptions of their hosts and their encounters is a neglected area of the study of the tourist experience. Another common failing of the studies reviewed in this chapter is their inadequate treatment, or neglect, of gender ⁷. However, an understanding of the touristic experience would certainly be incomplete without a consideration of the female tourists' experiences.

Of particular importance to this study is Cohen's work. I found his typology of tourists useful for guiding my fieldwork, particularly during the early stages of my research (1993 and 1994). As we will see in Chapter Six, it provided the basis for a five-fold subdivision of the individual mass tourist, which is based on an understanding of tourists' motivations as expressed by them.

⁷ Yiannakis and Gibson do give passing mention to gender as a variable in the organised tourist's behaviour, but the tourist is more usually assumed to be a middle-class male sightseer.

CHAPTER FIVE

Research Setting and Visitors' Profile

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is organised into two parts. The first provides background information on the development of tourism in Greece and Chalkidiki. This is followed by a discussion of the transformation of Kalimeria, from a fishing and farming village into a seaside resort. The second part of the chapter presents the tourists' profile derived from the results of a questionnaire survey carried out during the summers of 1995 and 1996.

5.2 The Development of Tourism in Greece

a) Early Travellers to Greece

Travel for leisure purposes has a long lineage, which can be traced back at least to the ancient Greeks who were the 'first to record trips' (Wood and House, 1991) undertaken for sight-seeing purposes. Herodotus was one of the first travellers to record his experiences of foreign travel, and for this reason he is often considered the world's first 'international tourist' (Buzzard, 1993). Other examples of early travel include the pilgrimages to holy shrines such as Rome. During the Renaissance, the wealthy elite travelled widely for educational purposes. In the 18th century, sea water gained a reputation for its medicinal properties and as a result a number of European coastal fishing villages were transformed into resorts (Urry, 1991). However, until the end of the 19th century travel remained restricted to a few wealthy individuals who could afford the cost of travel.

The majority of early foreign visitors to Greece were scholars (classicists and archaeologists) visiting places such as Athens, Marathon, Sparta and Delphi (Robinson, 1976; Pettifer, 1993). Drawn by Greece's classical heritage, these early travellers were very few in number (Lytra, 1987). Greece also featured as a destination in the itinerary of some of the European elite who undertook the 'Grand Tour' (Cassons, 1974).

b) Greece as a Tourist Destination

During the course of the twentieth century travelling for pleasure expanded gradually. What has been called the 'democratisation of travel' (Urry, 1991), whereby large numbers of people can travel long distances relatively cheaply, is a phenomenon of the 1960s. Developments in mass air transport have led to the creation of inexpensive and all inclusive 'package holidays' which combine transport, both to and from the holiday destination, with accommodation in a holiday resort. This has resulted in very large numbers of people taking holidays abroad. Rising living standards in many Western societies, as well as increased leisure time, have been identified as the major contributory factors for the increased leisure mobility of people (Mathieson and Wall, 1984; Murphy, 1985; Krippendorf, 1991).

Greece is a country of around 10 million inhabitants. It covers an area of approximately 132,500 square kilometres and about 80% of its land mass is mountainous (Pettifer, 1993). In terms of historic sites, Greece is undoubtedly one of the richest in the world, with a plethora of ancient and Byzantine monuments and artistic treasures. It 'represents something infinitely desirable to most visitors, a combination of unsurpassed natural beauty and antiquity and perhaps most of all, warmth and sensuality - Byron's sweet

south' (Pettifer, *ibid.*: 70). With around 9000 miles of coastline, about 2000 islands, and its mild climate, Greece is very attractive to foreign visitors seeking a relatively inexpensive holiday.

Tourism in Greece did not take place on any significant scale until the late 1950s, after the Civil War (1946-1949) had ended and the country's infrastructure was restored. Leontidou has suggested that a critical factor was the development of rapid air travel. She also identifies 'the low level of development' and the poor communications of a country which had been under the rule of the Turks for over four hundred years, as factors which hindered the growth of mass tourism (Leontidou, 1991). From independence in 1821 to the end of the 1950s there was much internal political instability in Greece and poor relations with neighbouring Turkey. These factors significantly hindered the growth of tourism in Greece.¹

After the civil war, Greece embarked on a development programme, which included the financing and promotion of tourism. Tourism was identified by the Government as a motor for economic development. It saw tourism as a means by which the economy could be restructured, and as a way of dealing with foreign exchange problems and a chronic trade deficit (Leontidou, 1991). Thus, in the early 1960s measures were introduced to promote tourism. Infrastructure was developed to facilitate communications and the State encouraged tourist enterprises by providing loans to developers to build holiday accommodation units.

¹ See Appendix F for a brief history of Greece.

During the 1967-74 dictatorship, an even greater emphasis was given to the development of tourism. The policy was to promote large-scale tourism with the ultimate goal of 13 million foreign visitors per annum. This policy was pursued without any systematic planning and with little consideration for the environment. Schemes such as petrol coupons, whereby travel was subsidised for international visitors, were introduced in order to encourage them to come to Greece (Young, 1973). In addition, foreign investment, mainly from the US, West Germany and France, was encouraged in all sectors of the economy, including tourism. Investment was concentrated mainly in coastal developments, i.e., hotels. This 'foreign invasion' has been described by some commentators as a 'sell-out' of several Greek coastal areas to foreigners (Komilis, 1987; Leontidou, 1991). There was also a parallel growth of private domestic investment during the period, while at the same time, public investment declined. After the fall of the dictatorship, tourism continued to feature significantly in the Five-Year Plans for Economic Development and, in 1987, the Ministry of Tourism was established and given the responsibility for tourist planning.

A number of recent studies have shown that over the last two decades, the natural beauties of Greece, particularly its sunny beaches, have been preferred to its historical monuments (Leontidou, 1991; Komilis, 1987 and 1994; Coccossis and Parpairis, 1996).

For instance, Leontidou (ibid.; 84) writes:

'If Greece is one of the cradles of Western civilisation... this is hardly evident in the nature, destination and seasonality of tourist flows. Instead, the country's mild climate...its natural beauty and especially the clear sea are preferred to its culture, heritage, myths and historic monuments.'

Likewise, Komilis (1994) argues that 'sun-lust' tourism is the predominant form of tourism in Greece. For the overwhelming majority of foreign visitors the main attractions of Greece appear to be 'the gorgeous blue skies, relaxation, cheap wine and that enduring Greek sense of freedom' (Smith, 1996). These sun-seekers originate from Northern Europe, with the UK, Germany, Austria, France, and Italy being the 'major tourist-generating countries'. The average length of a visitor's stay is 14 days. A high proportion of sun-seeking tourists are drawn from low-income brackets (EOT, 1990).

More than half of all arrivals to Greece (including Chalkidiki) occurs in the summer months of July and August. The seasonality of tourism is among the most extreme in Europe (Komilis, 1994). It is also worth noting that some of Greece's tourism is 'statistically invisible' due to the 'hidden aspects of many activities and transactions' (Leontidou, 1991: 80).

Although tourism has grown rapidly (see Appendix G) in the last three decades, evidence documented in several studies reveals that this growth has been uneven and has been particularly susceptible to internal and external political instability. For instance, the Cyprus crisis in 1974 and the international economic recession both disrupted the tourist industry. More recently, tourism was affected by the Gulf war crisis and the civil war in former Yugoslavia (Palmer, 1990). Before the war in former Yugoslavia, many Austrians and Germans travelled to Chalkidiki by car. Now the majority of them arrive by air.

Having capitalised on her natural resources in pursuit of economic progress, there have been costs as well as benefits. The intensive development of seashores over the last thirty years has led to significant problems for many coastal parts of the country. Some developed areas show signs of congestion and environmental deterioration (Coccossis and Parpairis, 1996). In the rush to make room for hotels and to provide beaches, olive and pine trees have been cleared. As a result of the lack of planning control, Athens and other places are losing their popularity with tourists (Leontidou, *ibid.*). On the other hand, Chalkidiki has become a new magnet for many sun-seekers.

In recognising some of the problems associated with mass tourism (e.g., air pollution, traffic congestion), the Greek authorities have recently begun promoting the off-peak months, and alternative forms of tourism. For instance, winter sports holidays, or visits based on ecological attraction are now being promoted through an overseas advertising campaigns (Kenna, 1993; Komilis, 1994 and 1996). In an attempt to disperse tourism away from the coastal areas, both the Greek authorities and tourist operators, as an alternative to the traditional beach holiday have recently marketed villages located on the slopes of the Pindos Mountains in Epiros.

‘There is an alternative to ... overcrowded beaches this summer - head inland to cooler, loftier climes ... If it is not to be the sea in Greece then it should be the mountains: just about the only other place where keeping cool is not likely to be a preoccupation in high summer.’

(Ottaway, 1997: 4)

Overseas promotion by EOT has been intensified, with the aim of attracting off-season and higher income tourists (Kenna, *ibid.*; Komilis, *ibid.*).

‘We are not interested in Greece being the summer resort of Europe for millions of visitors with little money to spend... by upgrading our services and expanding our

image as a year round tourist destination, we hope to attract up-market holidaymakers.'

(Kefaloyannis, 1990: 16)

The Greek Tourist authorities are attempting to change Greece's image away from that of a land of sun and sea. Emphasis is being placed on quality rather than quantity. Despite this new approach, Greek seaside resorts, including Chalkidiki, still remain a magnet for millions of sun-seekers (Komilis, *ibid.*).

5.3 Tourism in Chalkidiki

Chalkidiki is now a well-established destination for foreign visitors. Both Chalkidiki and Thessaloniki are currently enjoying a wave of investment, with the latter being designated as the cultural capital of Europe for 1997. The Chalkidiki region (see map, Appendix H) is situated southeast of Thessaloniki, which is in Northern Greece. The coast of this thickly wooded area comprises three peninsulas: Kassandra, Sithonia, and Mount Athos (the 'Holy Mountain', which is a monastic republic). Kassandra is surrounded by the Aegean Sea and edged by curving beaches that give the visitor a feel of being on an island.

The region of Chalkidiki has undergone extensive and rapid development since the 1970s. In particular, Kassandra has developed fast and evolved into one of the largest tourist destination in Northern Greece. It has a number of thriving beach resorts (e.g., Kallithea) with extensive modern tourist accommodation, including several small family-run hotels and lots of self-catering apartments/studios. In addition, there are a number of large hotel complexes, for example, Acti Sani, Palini and Gerakina. These provide the visitor with amenities such as restaurants, bars, nightclubs and discotheques, as well

as tennis and volleyball courts, and all kinds of water sports. Most of these hotel complexes or, to use Cohen's (1972) phrase, 'touristic bubble', are isolated from the village/resorts located along the coast of Kassandra and Sithonia (e.g., Acti Sani).

Chalkidiki is full of contrasts. Travelling around this area of Greece, one can see that much of the inland region of Chalkidiki, as well as some of the southern parts of Kassandra, are still wild and 'unspoilt'. The whole region has a plethora of attractions, including: the Petralona caves with its paleontological interest; the ancient site of Stagira, the birth place of Aristotle; and several traditional villages such as Arnea, found on the slopes of Mount Holomon, and Afitos built on the slopes of an ancient citadel. Other attractions include its sandy beaches, and its clear, pollution-free, seawater.

Chalkidiki is marketed as an area of 'genuine unspoilt beauty', a 'hidden paradise'. It seeks to attract those people looking for long golden beaches and unspoilt villages that have an 'authentic' Greek atmosphere. In a revealing comment, Andreas Andreadis, (President of the Chalkidiki Hotel Association), said: 'We've done a good marketing campaign and we're very family orientated, with clean beaches and good quality accommodation. The area is also very popular with Greek people, which must say something about the region' (1994: 60).

Chalkidiki, like other holiday regions in Greece, can 'guarantee' the sun. It is not surprising, therefore, that Chalkidiki, becomes congested during the summer months with both foreign and domestic visitors. Extreme peaks occur between mid-July and

mid-August. This particular period places stresses and strains upon the transport system, which has to cope with a sudden and enlarged volume of motor car traffic.

However, Chalkidiki has recently been able to organise itself and respond to the pressures of tourism development. The Chalkidiki authorities have instigated development controls that restrict growth. These include preservation of the traditional environment and more careful planning. In the last two years roads, telecommunications and the sewage systems have been improved considerably in several parts of Chalkidiki. Road improvements between Chalkidiki and Thessaloniki airport have facilitated tourist traffic to Kalimeria .

5.4 Kalimeria

Kalimeria (a pseudonym) lies towards the foot of Kassandra, the most western of the three peninsulas. It is approximately one hour's drive (c.105 km) from Thessaloniki airport, a main arrival point for tourists. According to the 1991 census, the total resident population of Kalimeria is 1150 inhabitants. In addition, during the summer period, second home owners mainly from Thessaloniki, migrant workers from other parts of Greece, as well as Albanian immigrants and tourist workers (the majority of whom are employed casually in tourist-related services) temporarily assume residency in the village.

Kalimeria is reasonably representative of the village resorts found along the western and eastern coasts of Kassandra. Because of its size, the type of tourists it attracts, and the level of tourist development, it provided an ideal location for this study. In the last

twenty-five years Kalimeria has experienced a radical transformation from a quite fishing and farming village into a bustling summer seaside resort. This was triggered initially by the commercialisation of domestic tourism, but it was accelerated by the arrival of Western European tourists in the late 1970s. Over the last two years, an increasing number of tourists have come from Eastern European countries.

The village authorities have actively encouraged the development of tourism since the 1980s. Promoting the place as a tourist attraction led the authorities to adopt a new 'commercial' name for the village. This decision to 'ennoble the village name' was part of a marketing strategy, designed to project the distinctive image of Kalimeria as a 'greener paradise'. This metamorphosis of a small fishing/farming village into a cosmopolitan holiday resort is symbolised by the adoption of its new name, which was designed to convey a new and modern identity.

Of more importance, this transformation is a direct consequence of the increased demand for small, affordable accommodation units close to the beach. Today in Kalimeria, there are hotels, self-catering apartments and other rented accommodation. Large hotels (of ninety beds and more) are equipped with a swimming pool, and a bar providing foreign visitors with a programme of evening entertainment, including 'Greek nights'. The majority of hotels have less than fifty beds and the largest hotel unit has a capacity of 120 beds. There are no large hotel complexes in this resort. The nearest one is located approximately 15 kilometres from the village. In addition, there is an unrecorded number of rooms available for rent in private houses. Due to the existence of this undeclared accommodation, overnight stays are usually underestimated by 'at

least a quarter' in many Greek holiday resorts, including Kalimeria (Leontidou, *ibid.*) The 'black economy' in tourism renders it difficult to estimate exactly the number of foreign visitors to Kalimeria. It is important to note here that estimates vary wildly from a few thousands visitors to as many as 30 000 and over.

There are some 250 tourist enterprises in the village, including tavernas, restaurants, bars, supermarkets, souvenir and jewellery shops. All of these are operated either by the indigenous population or by xenoï (outsiders, mainly from Thessaloniki). In many cases these tourist-oriented enterprises are operated by families. In this way overheads are kept to a minimum and profits are maximised. Businesses are open between 14 and 24 hours per day, seven days per week for approximately five months of the year (May - September). Few of them remain open during the winter months. In addition, there are some other small businesses in Kalimeria including tailoring, metalwork and carpentry, which have expanded due to the influx of tourists.

Further change has been visible in Kalimeria during the period of this research project. For instance (summer 1994), a Kafeneio (a traditional place where men gather to drink Greek coffee and play cards or *tavli*) was converted into a bar. The sound of bouzouki has been replaced by that of Western European pop music and modern Greek songs with an international flavour to them. Similarly, an Ouzeri, (a men's traditional drinking place) has been converted into a restaurant serving international cuisine. According to some local entrepreneurs, many tourists demand the familiar (e.g., food and drink). This demand has necessitated the 'simulation' of Western-style attractions, which are to be found along the waterfront. The bars, discos, restaurants and boutiques are

reproductions of Western European models and create a modern atmosphere similar to, yet different from, the one that the tourist can find at home (Wickens, 1994).

Each year that I returned to the village, it was noticeable that more and more small businesses had opened up, such as cafes, tavernas, and craft and souvenir shops. Last year's (1996) additions were two more supermarkets, two bakeries, two fast food eating places and another small hotel.

In the race to develop tourism, the construction of accommodation units has not always been carefully planned in the village. More importantly, as in other Greek holiday regions, some developments were undertaken illegally, in particular along Kalimeria's coastline. Indeed, the history of Greek tourism development is characterised by such illegal building activities (Leontidou, 1991; Komilis, 1994). Demand for small and cheap accommodation units as well as second homes purchased mainly by affluent Thessalonikious or returning migrant workers (mainly from Germany) has rapidly altered the physical landscape of this area. The irony is that the once characteristic coastal olive groves that tourists expect to see are being grubbed-up to make way for more tourist development. The President of Kalimeria, predicts that in ten to fifteen years time the fourteen villages along the eastern coastline of Kassandra will fuse into a single urban area, as a direct result of the present growth of sprawling tourist development.

However, in recent years, the local authorities have made some attempts to control 'anarchic' construction by introducing regulations, which limit the use of land. In

addition, new dwellings must be constructed to a code, which controls both their height, and the materials used. For example, apartments have to conform to certain traditional features of the local architecture (e.g., red slated roofs and whitewashed walls). These new buildings incorporate internally modern European facilities, constructed as they are to cater to the needs and desires of visitors. Externally, however, they conform to the traditional architectural style.

The recently developed coastal part of Kalimeria is separated from the site of the original village by the coast road. The original village was built away from the sea, at the fringe of the pine forests which still largely covers the steep hills lying directly behind the village. A large number of bee hives are scattered throughout Kalimeria's pine forests. Indeed, the whole region of Chalkidiki is well known for the quality of its honey. Walking through this old part of the village, one can see a small number of old but still inhabited cottages as well as some derelict properties built in the traditional simple manner. These old dwellings are sited completely irregularly with the 'stena' - narrow streets and alleys - occupying the spaces between them, hence their fluctuating width and characteristic twists and turns. The village's 'stena' as well as the roads in the modern part of the village have recently been paved with flagstones in patterned red and grey bricks.

The focal point of the old part of this village is the Plateia, a flagstone paved square, with a number of new and old shops and restaurants. Some of the original buildings remain, including a Pantapoleio (a grocer's shop), a Kafeneio and a Taverna (a restaurant, where people go for evening entertainment, often to hear music and perhaps

dance). Prior to tourist development, the Plateia, was the only centre of traditional social activity. Locals would gather there to eat, to drink, dance and socialise, or just simply to take their customary evening strolls. The Plateia was a site of ritual parading, the purpose of which was to 'see and be seen'. With the arrival of foreign visitors, village life no longer centres on the Plateia. During the tourist season a modern version of this parade takes place along the waterfront. This site has been manufactured as the new social heart of the village, where foreign visitors intermingle with domestic tourists and locals (Wickens, 1994). Every night, participants stroll along the promenade, with the sea on one side and a succession of open-air dining and entertainment facilities - bars, tavernas, restaurants offering international cuisine, discos, amusement arcades, boutiques, and shops selling local handicrafts - on the other.

The most prominent building to be found in Kalimeria is the new Greek Orthodox church of Panaghia found at the centre of the village. Other points of interest include the village's three old churches with their whitewashed walls. Kalimeria, like other villages, has its own festivals. The Panaghia's festival on the 15th of August, is one of the most important and impressive, attracting several thousands of Thessalonikious and Greeks from neighbouring villages. This two days festival is held in honour of the virgin Maria, Christ's mother or Panaghia. The procession of the icon of Panaghia, which takes place in the evening, on the eve of Panaghia's name day, is a great attraction to tourists. On a number of occasions during my fieldwork, I found myself in the role of an interpreter, explaining to some foreign visitors the meaning and the significance of this religious ceremony for the locals.

During this festival (which takes place on one of the most important Greek bank holidays), as well as during July and August (the peak months for tourists), Kalimeria is congested and overcrowded and shows some signs of environmental deterioration (primarily noise, and litter). The exodus of domestic tourists from Thessaloniki to Chalkidiki for long weekend breaks compounds traffic congestion. The main coastal road, which is the artery of Kassandra, becomes very congested with cars both moving and stationary. This problem stems from the fact that there are no parking facilities available in or out of the village. In the last two years of fieldwork, I have noticed that evening parking has been banned from the road along the waterfront and from certain streets in the central part of the resort. However, enforcement of this ban is only partially successful.

During the early years of fieldwork, visitors often complained to me about the traffic congestion in Kalimeria, the overcrowding and noise on the beach, and the litter at the edges of its streets (see Chapter Seven).

5.5 Charter Tourists in Kalimeria

Official statistics (EOT, 1996) indicate that the majority of foreign tourists arrive in Kalimeria as part of a package holiday organised by tour operators. The package often includes air transport, accommodation with breakfast and transfers to/from the airport. These charter holidaymakers arrive at the airport in Thessaloniki and from there, are transferred by coach to their allocated hotel or self/catering accommodation. British, Germans and Austrians constitute the majority of these institutionalised tourists. Over

the last two years, package holidaymakers from Eastern European countries have also begun to visit Kalimeria.

EOT statistics on tourists give information on the nationalities of tourists and the length of their stay in certain large hotels. It is worth noting here that it excludes smaller accommodation units, which are typical of Kalimeria. Despite the volume of published statistics on tourism and tourists, the existing EOT information is rather limited and not particularly accurate because of the black economy. In the absence of any reliable information on the foreign visitors to this host community, it was decided to carry out a small field-survey. The findings of this survey are considered in the remaining part of this chapter.

5.6 Visitors' Profile

The principal purpose of the questionnaire survey was to construct a quantitative profile of the institutional tourists in Kalimeria ². The survey was carried out in the months of June to August 1995 and 1996. The questionnaires were distributed to tourists staying in one hotel (80 beds) and one small self-catering 'unit' (23 apartments). These two types of accommodation are representative of the research setting as a whole. In total 200 completed questionnaires were used for analysis (see Chapter Two).

a) The Respondents

The 200 respondents were split roughly equally between male (46.5%) and female (53.5%). Table 1 shows the age distribution of these respondents.

² It was also anticipated that the responses to some of the questions - particularly the open response questions - would guide the structuring of the ethnographic study. This proved to be the case.

TABLE 1

QUESTION	MEASURE	CATEGORY	N ³	%
Q D6	Nationality	British	126	63.0
		Austrian	62	31.0
		Other (e.g. German)	12	6.0
Q D1	Age	< 25	48	24.0
		26 - 34	47	23.5
		35 - 44	40	20.0
		45 - 54	46	23.0
		> 55	19	9.5
Q D3	Marital Status	Single	58	29.0
		Married/Cohabiting	130	65.0
		Other (i.e. separated, divorced, widow/er)	12	6.0

While nearly a quarter of the respondents were 25 or under, and only 9.5 % were 55 or older, the majority of the respondents were fairly evenly spread over the other age segments. The percentage of respondents over 55 should not be treated as representative of the whole holiday season since holidaymakers in this age range tend to be more able to choose non-school holiday periods for their vacation. As Table 1 shows, roughly two thirds of the respondents had partners while the other third were single.

The majority of respondents (88.5%) were economically active (see Table 2). Of all of the economically active people, 62 respondents were in manual skilled/semi-skilled occupations, 59 in non manual/clerical (the majority of whom were females) and 52 in professional/managerial occupations, i.e., they were approximately evenly distributed across the three broad occupational categories.

³ N is the number of respondents responding to this particular question.

TABLE 2

QUESTION	MEASURE	CATEGORY	N	%
Q D7	Place of Residence	City	62	31.0
		Town	102	51.0
		Village	36	18.0
Q D4	Employment	Full-time	159	79.5
		Part-time	18	9.0
		Not employed	12	6.0
		Student	9	4.5
		Other	2	1.0
Q D5	Occupation	Professional/Managerial	52	26.0
		Non-manual/Clerical	59	29.5
		Skilled/semi-skilled/Unskilled/Manual	62	31.0
		Other	27	13.5

This profile of foreign visitors shows that foreign travel to this Greek host community is accessible to people from a range of socio-economic backgrounds. This finding is consistent with that of other studies of tourism in Greece (e.g., Leontidou, 1991; Komilis, 1994). Moreover, this profile of tourists seems to contradict the view that the 'tourist' is an all embracing label for millions of middle class people (MacCannell, 1976). Table 2 lends support to Urry's view about the 'democratisation' of foreign travel to holiday destinations such as Chalkidiki (Urry, 1991 and 1992a).

b) The Holiday

The vast majority of the respondents (see Table 3) had come on holiday with other people, with only five percent (the majority being male) travelling alone. The majority (68%) of those travelling with friends was female. These percentages are consistent with those recorded in other studies (e.g., Page, et al., 1994).

TABLE 3

QUESTION	MEASURE	CATEGORY	N	%
Q A6	Holiday companions	Alone	10	5.0
		Friend(s)	47	23.5
		Spouse/Partner	124	62.0
		Other (e.g. family)	19	9.5
Q A7	Accommodation	Hotel	80	40.0
		Self-catering	118	59.0
		Other	2	1.0
Q A8	Duration	One week	36	18.0
		Two weeks	160	80.0
		Other	4	2.0

Just over half of the respondents stayed in self-catering accommodation (see Table 3). Both types of accommodation are characterised by the independence they afford tourists, for instance, in terms of when and where they take their meals. Fieldwork also revealed that Western European visitors are most likely to take their evening meals at a local taverna/restaurant.

A large proportion of the respondents (80%) stayed in the resort for a fortnight (see Table 3). However, the majority of Austrians stayed in Kalimeria for one week. The survey indicates that longer holidays (e.g., over three weeks) in Kalimeria are rare (there were only four examples in the survey sample), and they are more likely to be taken by younger people (e.g., students).

An interesting finding from the survey is that many respondents (66%) had some previous experience of Greece. Of these respondents, a significant proportion (43.5%) reported that they visited Greece on a regular basis (e.g., once a year). A quarter of the

sample (25%) stated that they were ‘sporadic’ travellers, visiting Greece every other year, or every few years. A small minority of the sample (2.5%) visit Greece twice a year.

The nationality of the respondents with previous experience of Greece is shown in Table 4. While only one third of the British respondents had previously been to Greece, over 40% of the Austrian respondents had been there before. This could well be explained by the closer proximity of Austria to Greece and correlates well with the tendency of the Austrians to take shorter holidays (see above).

TABLE 4

QUESTION	RESPONSE	NATIONALITY	%
First visit to Greece?	Yes	Austrian	43.4
		British	33.9
	No	Austrian	56.5
		British	66.1

However, the survey also shows that the vast majority of the respondents were first time visitors to Kalimeria (87.5%, with no significant difference between British and Austrian respondents). Further, twenty-five respondents (eight Austrians and seventeen British) said that they returned to the resort year after year. To gain an understanding of why these tourists return to the same resort it is important to look at their responses to those questions that required a more qualitative reply. These are discussed later in this section. It should be noted here, that this survey finding fits well with my ethnographic evidence concerning a tourist type which returns to Kalimeria year after year (see Chapters Six and Seven).

An overwhelming majority of respondents reported that they were on a package holiday. Further, as Table 5 shows, the travel brochure was the major source of information for these visitors to Chalkidiki. This finding is consistent with that of other studies (e.g., Leontidou, 1991; Komilis, 1994).

TABLE 5

QUESTION	N	MEASURE	CATEGORY	%
Q A5	197 3	Holiday type	Package	98.5
			Independent	1.5
Q A4	148 30 7 15	Source of information	Travel brochure	74.0
			Friends/Word of mouth	15.0
			TV	3.5
			Allocation on arrival	7.5

c) Holiday Choice

It is not surprising to find that the vast majority of respondents (83%) identified the sun as a significant 'pull factor' (see Table 6). Important 'push factor' were 'getting away from everyday life', 'to do as one pleases', 'to be free' and 'to have fun'. Other factors were: cultural (the desire to experience Greek village life), interpersonal (the desire to meet new people and make new friends), or simply to pursue one's interests.

Table 6 also indicates that one fifth of the respondents saw cost as a significant determinant in their choice of holiday. These respondents were more likely to fall into the younger age bracket. The survey suggests that holiday choice is a multi-variable decision. This finding is consistent with that of other studies (Perch, 1993). However, it should also be noted that respondents had two dominant motives for choosing

TABLE 6

QUESTION	MEASURE	CATEGORY	N	%
Q C1 ⁴	Holiday reasons	Sun	167	83.5
		Getting away from it all	141	70.5
		Freedom	99	49.5
		Fun	76	38.0
		Village	66	33.0
		Cheapness	39	19.5
		Nature	22	11.0
		Friends	22	11.0
		Interests	14	7.0
		Other	3	1.5

Kalimeria as their holiday resort - the sun and getting away from it all (see, also, Chapters Six and Seven).

When the responses recorded in Table 6 are analysed by nationality some interesting differences emerge (see Table 7).

Experiencing Greek village life does not appear to be a dominant factor for the majority of Austrian respondents. On the other hand, 'to experience nature' is a significant factor for them (and an almost non-existent factor for British respondents). By contrast, over fifty percent of British respondents identified 'having fun' as a factor in their choice of holiday, while for the Austrian respondents this factor was identified by only a small number. A similar ratio of Austrian to British responses is recorded for 'freedom' (see, also, Chapter Seven).

⁴ It should be noted that this question allows an respondents (a) to give more than one response chosen from the list on the questionnaire, and/or (b) provide their own reason(s).

TABLE 7

RESPONSE	NATIONALITY	%
Village life	Austrian	24.2
	British	49.6
Sun	Austrian	85.5
	British	86.6
Cheapness	Austrian	25.8
	British	23.6
Fun	Austrian	14.51
	British	55.2
Away	Austrian	61.3
	British	71.2
Nature	Austrian	43.5
	British	3.9
Free	Austrian	25.8
	British	60.0

d) Main Holiday Activities

The quantitative analysis undertaken in sections (a), (b) and (c) above can be fleshed out by a consideration of the responses given to those questions which encouraged qualitative replies. Respondents were asked to state the main holiday activities undertaken by them during the day and in the evening. Due to low membership, daily activities such as shopping/reading/games/playing with kids/watersports, and evening activities such as shopping/reading/playing games are not included in Table 9. (For more details of activities undertaken by foreign visitors to Kalimeria see, also, Chapters Six and Seven.)

TABLE 9

QUESTION	N	MEASURE	CATEGORY	••
Q B1 (i)	189	Day	Sunbathing/swimming/relaxing/lazing on the beach	94.5
	64		Sightseeing/visiting other villages/walking	32.0
Q B1 (ii)	135	Evening	Meals/local entertainment	67.5
	110		Bars/pubs/night clubs	55.0
	45		Walking around resort/strolling on promenade	22.5

The vast majority of respondents reported spending four or more hours a day sunbathing and swimming. Only 13.3% of respondents reported spending less than four hours a day on the beach. Table 10 analyses the response to this question in terms of nationality and sex.

TABLE 10

QUESTION	MEASURE	NATIONALITY	SEX	%
Swimming/sunbathing	4-5 hours	Austrian	Male	19.4
		British	Male	22.8
		Austrian	Female	14.5
		British	Female	28.3
	> 6 hours	Austrian	Male	22.6
		British	Male	17.3
		Austrian	Female	37.1
		British	Female	11.8

This table shows that the majority of Austrians (23 females and 14 males = 37/62 respondents) spent more than 6 hours per day on the beach. The majority of the British (51 females and 51 males = 102/127 respondents) spent more than 4-5 hours on the beach. It can be seen that Austrian respondents are much more likely to spend a greater time on the beach than their British counterparts. This might be at least partly

accounted for by the fact that the Austrians are more likely to be having a holiday of only one week.

While many tourists indulged in activities such as swimming/sun-bathing and relaxing/resting, a substantial proportion (54%) also undertook visits and explored other places in Chalkidiki (see Table 11).

TABLE 11

QUESTION	N	ACTIVITY	NARRATIVE	%
Q B2	51	Organised trip(s)	Excursions/boat trips	25.5
	49	Non-organised trip(s)	Exploring villages/towns in Chalkidiki	24.5
	8	Mixed	Organised/unorganised trips	4.0

The boat trip to Mount Athos, the 'Lazy Day' cruise, the coach trip to Mount Holomon, and the trip to Thessaloniki appear to be the most popular excursions. In addition, a number of other trips are offered by local tour companies. The following table shows the variety of excursions available to tourists.

TABLE 12

EXCURSIONS AVAILABLE	DURATION
Lazy Day boat trip to Sithonia	One day
Boat trip to Porto Karas	One day
Boat trip to Mount Athos	One day
Coach trip to Meteora	One day
Coach trip to Mount Holomon	One day
Barbecue/beach party on an island	Half day
Coach trip to Sithonia	One day

The survey shows that the natural beauty of Kalimeria and its surroundings was explored either by foot, car or bicycle. 49 respondents (the majority being British) had visited the 'traditional' villages, which are located about half an hour's drive from Kalimeria. These respondents reported experiencing the unspoilt, relaxed, and laid-back Greek style of life in places such as Aghia Paraskevie. Visitors wishing to see other tourist attractions also used the local bus, which links Kalimeria with other villages in Kassandra and with Thessaloniki. On a few occasions, respondents reported having used other means of public transport such as the hydrofoils, which link the village with the islands of Skiathos, Skopelos and Alonissos. Data on the holiday activities undertaken by foreign visitors to Kalimeria is useful for shedding light on tourists' involvement with the host community. The survey shows that 24.5% of all respondents use Kalimeria as a base to explore other parts of Chalkidiki. This theme of tourists' involvement with the host community is discussed in detail in Chapters Six and Seven.

e) Respondents' Perspectives on Kalimeria

Attractions are the very basis of tourism (Ryan, 1991; Urry, 1991). They motivate occidentals to visit holiday destinations such as Chalkidiki. The survey also investigated the main attractions of Kalimeria as identified by respondents. Visitors were requested to answer the following question: 'What are your impressions of this holiday resort/village?' The responses to this open-ended question were aggregated into thematic areas. The results of the survey (139 respondents, 69.5% of the sample) indicate that the attractiveness of Kalimeria is primarily assessed in terms of its physical qualities (e.g., beaches/sea/scenery/climate). However, on closer examination, the evidence shows that 40% of the sample reported 'the friendly and hospitable people' and

the 'quaint and lovely village' as the main attraction of Kalimeria. As we will see in Chapter Seven, traditional hospitality can play a key role in attracting and retaining foreign visitors (see, also, Chapter Six).

Further more, 34 (17%) respondents (29 British and 5 Austrians) reported that their holiday brochure had promised them an experience of traditional Greek village life. Of these respondents, the majority stated that Kalimeria was advertised as an unspoilt, quiet village (see Chapter Eight).

One of the questions asked was whether a respondent's experience of Kalimeria matched their expectations. 123 respondents (61.5%) responded in the affirmative to this question. The main factors identified by respondents when answering this question included: 'good beaches/weather'; 'friendly locals'; 'Greek culture'; 'lots of fun'; 'good bars'; 'nice tavernas'. This picture of tourists' expectation of their Greek holiday is discussed further in Chapters Six and Seven.

TABLE 13

QUESTION	N	CATEGORY	NARRATIVE	%
Q B5	139	Physical qualities	Beach/sea/location/scenery/climate	69.5
	70	Amenities/entertainment	Restaurants/nightlife/bars/shopping facilities	35.0
	54	Heritage/history/culture	Old village/square/old buildings/churches/local atmosphere/few tourists/quite village/very Greek/traditional Greek village	27.0
	26	Hosts	Friendly people/locals	13.0

Overall, the vast majority of respondents (81.5%) described their hosts, variously, as friendly, warm, generous, hospitable, honest, and pleasant, although 14% of the sample described their hosts as 'primitive, rude and noisy'. Indeed, ethnographic evidence (Chapter Seven) also reveals that the hospitality experienced by the foreign visitors can play a key role in tourists' satisfaction. The results of the survey show a high level of satisfaction with the Chalkidiki experience, with 95% of the sample reporting that they had had 'fun and lots of enjoyment' in Kalimeria. Further, when respondents were asked if they would visit Chalkidiki in the future, the majority (120 respondents) reported that they would, and 3.5% of the sample reported, 'we're not quite sure, maybe in few years time'.

Of particular interest are the views of those respondents (70) who stated they would not return to Kalimeria. Their reasons for not visiting the resort again are recorded in Table 14.

TABLE 14

QUESTION	N	REASON	NARRATIVE	%
Q C10	48	Prefer to visit other places	'it's a big world'/'prefer to see other places in Greece'	24.0
	7	Environment did not live up to expectations	'Commercialised'/'not Greek enough'	3.5
	8	Other	'no variety'/'too quite'/'lack of entertainment'	4.0
	7	Other	'Beach is too dirty'/'not enough sun'	3.5

Several studies have argued that interactions between tourists and their hosts occur at a very superficial level, since tourists are present in the host community for a relatively short period of time (see Chapters Three and Four). Meetings are said to be merely a series of 'cash generating' activities as tourism becomes more highly developed and resort areas expand. The assertion that tourism turns hospitality into a commercial transaction is found in several studies (Boorstin, 1964; Turner and Ash, 1975; MacCannell, 1976). However, the findings of this survey suggest that the majority of tourists found Greeks hospitable, friendly, helpful and tolerant. Only a small sample of respondents said that locals were 'stand-off-ish'. It could of course be argued that the perceived economic benefits of tourism underpin the hospitable attitudes of locals, the majority of whom are employed in tourist-related services.

The absence of big hotel complexes, which tend to isolate tourists from the local culture, seems to increase the opportunities for social interaction between tourists and their hosts in Kalimeria. As we will see in Chapter Seven, interaction occurs in a variety of places including the beach, tavernas, and bars and, in particular, when tourists go out of their way to meet the locals.

Respondents were specifically asked if they had any unpleasant experiences during their vacation. Table 15 shows that these were mainly in regard to services and facilities/accommodation in the village, although there were some minor health problems (see, also, chapter Seven). Other complaints included comments such as, 'the beach is like an ashtray' and, 'incidents of begging'.

TABLE 15

QUESTION	CATEGORY	NARRATIVE	%
Q C9	Services/facilities	Poor accommodation/service not to reasonable standards	14.5
	Health problems	General accidents/sunburn/minor stings	16.5

5.7 Conclusion

The paucity of statistics on Chalkidiki, and, in particular, on Kalimeria, made it essential to collect quantitative data in order to construct a profile of the tourists visiting the research setting. This research method also provided some useful information on activities undertaken by respondents and their reasons for choosing Kalimeria for their holiday. In addition, respondents' qualitative statements on the main attractions of Kalimeria provided some useful insights into the desired characteristics of this host community.

A significant finding of this survey is that going on a foreign holiday is accessible to many people, irrespective of class, sex or status (Urry, 1991). It also shows that some respondents participate in a variety of holiday activities including gazing, roasting in the sun and interacting with locals.

A common theme amongst respondents (those who had reported on their experiences of their hosts) was that 'we'll never forget these lovely Greeks'. The survey suggests that institutionalised tourists may also interact with both the living and non-living parts of Kalimeria. This finding fits well with the findings of the ethnographic study detailed in the following chapters. As we will see shortly, ethnographic evidence also reveals that

not all tourists are physically and socially isolated from the visited host community. This finding is congruent with the view that there is always room for tourist to bypass and deviate from 'the tourist script' (Rojek, 1993: 177).

The generally poor response rate to the open-ended questions (a problem inherent in self-completed questionnaires) gives rise to suspicion that people on holiday are content to accept the choices offered to them (e.g., yes/no answers to questions) and cannot be bothered to thinking beyond that. Opportunities for prompting respondents for details and for gaining clarification of answers, particularly on the themes of authenticity and tourists' participation in the lives of the host community, were provided by ethnographic interviews. The data from these interviews form the basis of the remaining chapters of this thesis.

CHAPTER SIX

The Sacred and the Profane: A New Typology

6.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces and develops a five-fold classification of respondents. The Cultural Heritage, Raver, Shirley Valentine, Heliolatrous and Lord Byron tourist types are derived from ethnographic data provided by eighty-six participants. Goffman's (1967) concepts of 'role enactment', 'role commitment', 'role attachment' and 'role embracement' are deployed in developing a theoretical framework for understanding the differences between these types.

6.2 'The Institutionalised' Tourist in Kalimeria

As was pointed out in Chapter Four, despite its shortcomings, Cohen's (1972) work provided a concrete starting point for developing an understanding of the phenomenon of mass tourism. His distinction between institutionalised and non-institutionalised tourists was useful in the early stages of this project, because it helped me to develop an initial framework within which to gather data.

As can be seen from the previous chapter, all of my respondents were institutionalised tourists in Cohen's sense of this term. Indeed, they could all be considered 'individual mass' tourists. Cohen's work on this tourist type therefore provided useful preliminary insights into why these travellers commit themselves to the role of institutionalised tourist.

While Cohen's work provided the vocabulary (e.g., 'strangeness', 'familiarity', etc.) which initially guided this research, triangulating participants' accounts with Cohen's conceptual model and my field observations, provided grounds for questioning his conceptualisation of the 'individual mass tourist' as a unitary type.

The following section introduces five new tourist types.

6.3 Five Types of Tourists

Analysis of the large amount of qualitative data obtained from respondents indicated that they could be clustered into five types (see Chapter Two for methodological details). Each is characterised by a dominant theme which emerges when considering the reasons given by participants for their choice of holiday, the types of holiday activities indulged in, and the views expressed about the host community.

In what follows I name and characterise these five types. My characterisation derives directly from the ethnographic data and attempts to specify the similarities and differences within and between these types as succinctly as possible. Although these five tourist types are analytically separate, all eighty-six participants had two features in common. Firstly they all, to a greater or lesser extent, enjoyed the sun, sea and sand ethos of Kalimeria. Secondly, they all had a fundamental wish for 'familiarity' at the level of the basics, i.e., plumbing, toilets, cleanliness, etc.

In the following chapter I use the five types specified below to focus on, and make sense of, the ethnographic data obtained during this study. In this way I attempt to validate

the heuristic value of my typology as a framework for understanding tourist behaviour, while at the same time refining it by a process of iterative engagement with participants' accounts of their holiday in Kalimeria.

a) The Cultural Heritage Type

One group of eighteen participants demonstrated more similarities than differences with each other, in that they all placed a strong emphasis on the cultural aspects of the host country. I shall refer to these participants collectively as the Cultural Heritage type.

Although this was their first visit to Kalimeria, all of these participants had some previous holiday experience of Greece and knowledge of Greek culture and ancient history. The majority had visited Greece at least twice in the previous six years. They identified the natural beauties of Greece, its culture and history as the primary reasons for their visits. As one female participant (her travelling companions included her husband, two young sons and her elderly mother) put it:

'The classical sites, Epidorous, Sparta, the Greek way of life, the food, the language, the music,the plant life, the animal life.. a lot of wild birds, some of them en route, on migration.....the beautiful sunsets, Greece has so many things to offer... Because of these special sites,the classics archaeology is a particular draw for people who are specifically interested in that type of holiday - an interest holiday. ... And so Greece can provide a number of things - the interest holiday side of things - sailing and water sports, as well as the conventional, sunbathing type - it has a lot to offer to people.'

It was the promise of an experience of a 'typical Greek village life', with its 'traditional hospitality' found in travel brochures that had influenced their decision to visit Kalimeria for the first time. Their expectation of experiencing 'Greekness' is reflected in many of their holiday activities. For example, with Kalimeria as their base, and using public transport, they visited other villages located away from the coast. One such village,

Aghia Paraskevi, was described as a 'typical Greek village', as a 'lovely and peaceful place' and as a place 'not geared towards tourism'.

Organised excursions to the historical monuments of Thessaloniki, to Stagira (the birthplace of Aristotle), and to the Petralona caves were also undertaken by Cultural Heritage tourists. As one female participant who was travelling with her husband expressed it:

'You can always escape.we try to get about on the local bus and that's quite a good experience.....it's also nice listening to the Greek people, yapping to each other, especially the old women in their black clothes.... yesterday, we were in Aghia Paraskevi ... the scenery was fantastic, breathtaking... oh yeah, we spend most of our time sightseeing and visiting other villages.'

In actively seeking to sample the village life in Kalimeria, the Cultural Heritage type also comes into contact with locals and Greek holidaymakers ¹. Interactions with their hosts occur in tavernas, cafes, zaharoplasteios ², shops, but also on the beach. The 'unexpected friendliness' and hospitality of their hosts was a common theme to arise in our conversations. This is illustrated in the following extract from a conversation I had with a female participant who was holidaying with her husband in Kalimeria.

'Last night we just happened to be getting off the boat and walking up along the beach and these people...just dragged us - me and my husband- into their party. There were lots of Greek people dancing on the beach and they were cooking the little fish - and they shared the fish with us and it was a wonderful experience, it was just wonderful. So you still get the spontaneity here and I like that Oh, it was a lovely experience.....That wouldn't happen in England.'

The Cultural Heritage tourist clearly is not isolated from the host environment as has been suggested in previous studies, including Cohen's work ³.

¹ Kalimeria is a popular seaside resort for Greek holidaymakers.

² A patisserie.

³ Tourist-host encounters are discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven.

When asked if they would return to Kalimeria, a common response from participants in this category was that they would like 'to visit other parts of Greece'. For example:

'Oh I'd come again, perhaps, in a few years time, to another resort in Chalkidiki, yes, but I'd like to see other places in Greece as well. I'd come to Greece in May or early June, or late September when it's not that hot.'

Similarly:

'We will come to Greece. We'd like to see some other parts of Greece, maybe some of the islands. We'd very much love to visit Crete next year. One of our friends who's been to Crete, said it was a lovely island, not very touristy - lots of historical monuments to see. Chalkidiki doesn't have much.....'

Fieldwork reveals that the majority of participants in this category had visited Kalimeria in June or late August. The majority comprised families (including two single parents travelling with their young children) or elderly people. In addition, two single female participants, aged 22 and 23 respectively, are also included in this category ⁴.

This cluster of participants was seeking to experience 'real' Greek culture - its architecture, food, drink, music, language, folklore. In pursuing 'Greekness', they do not satisfy Cohen's expectation that they seek only recreation. Although the Cultural Heritage types resemble MacCannell's *tourists*, in that their accounts reveal that they are looking for 'authenticity' in the 'other' (i.e., they want to sample the 'Greekness' of Kalimeria), they differ from them in that they do not want to experience any of the physical hardships of a traditional village. They expect to enjoy the comforts of their own culture while on holiday.

⁴ Because of the nature of participant observation it was not always possible to gather information on all the topics I wished to cover. For example, on a few occasions participants avoided providing me with information on their age or their economic status. Such gaps were, however, more than compensated for by the fact that the majority of participants were willing to talk to me at length on topics which interested them, such as their encounters with Greeks and their holiday activities. This experience echoes the 'missing values' problem encountered during the questionnaire survey (see Chapter Two).

b) The Raver Type

Another cluster of eighteen participants emphasised in their conversations with me the possibilities offered by Chalkidiki for sensual and hedonistic pleasures. Unlike the Cultural Heritage type, the Ravers' experience of Kalimeria is confined primarily to the beach and its 'night-clubs'. This is illustrated in the following extract from a conversation I had with one participant who was holidaying with her friend.

'We stay about five hours on the beach, swimming and sunbathing....We go to the beach at elevenish, it depends on the time me and Kate get up....It's really nice to stay out late till early hours in the morning... We go to discos, nightclubs and bars.....you go away to let your hair down and to have fun.'

A common theme among these participants was the perceived opportunities 'to be silly'. Phrases used by them to describe their expectations included: 'just looking for a good time'; 'to have fun'; 'to let my hair down'; 'to get drunk'; and to have 'a casual fling and to enjoy myself'. These participants were active and willing consumers of the sensual pleasures made accessible by a two week packaged celebration of 'the here and now'.

As a type, these participants are more likely to have casual sex with more than one partner, and even to engage in group sex ⁵. Six males and five females told me that they had 'sex on the beach' or 'sex in the sea' with more than one partner, and one male and one female that they had engaged in group sex on the beach, 'because it's fun', 'it's part of having a good time'. Although their sexual partners are more likely to be other fellow tourists, nearly half of female Ravers also reported having a sexual liaison with a Greek.

⁵ In this type of research, the researcher has little choice but to take at face value the information provided by a participant. The veracity of individual accounts is lent support by the similarities between them. Indeed, it is this similarity of themes, which gives rise to the identification of this cluster. However, what is clear, is that these participants are describing their expectations of their holiday. It is their anticipation of thrills, which motivates their behaviour.

'Enjoyed the sex, it was passionate and exciting the way it is with someone new, a memorable night', and 'sex makes the holiday' were the way two participants described their experience to me. For them the 'real' flavour of a Greek village is purely coincidental ⁶. Ravers are on a quest for thrills rather than for 'authenticity' or 'Greekness'. This is reflected in the fact that the majority had been allocated (rather than chosen) Kalimeria upon arrival at Thessaloniki airport by their holiday operator.

Nearly half had some previous experience of the holiday atmosphere in resorts such as Corfu, Alonissos and Skiathos (eight referred specifically to the nightlife and the 'party atmosphere' of Greek holiday resorts). It was this that had influenced their decision to purchase a holiday in Chalkidiki. Cheapness was also a significant factor in choice of destination. When I asked them if they would return to Chalkidiki, a common response amongst them all was, only 'if we can get here cheaply'.

It is also worth noting that, in common with the Cultural Heritage types, Ravers also expect the 'familiar' (e.g., food and drink).

c) The Shirley Valentine Type

This cluster consisted of fourteen women travelling on their own or with a female friend, all of whom had also had some previous travel experience of Greece and its islands. As a type they were characterised by their wish for a romantic experience with a 'Greek God' ⁷. These participants share a particular 'expectation of pleasure', of meeting a 'real

⁶ Ravers seem to resemble Yiannakis and Gibson's (1992) 'action seekers', in that they are primarily interested in casual sex and partying till the early hours of the morning (see Chapter Four).

⁷ All of the expressions in inverted commas were used by one participant or another during my conversations with them.

friend' or a 'charming Greek gentleman', during their stay in Kalimeria. This expectation is based on the stereotypical image of a Greek male created by the film 'Shirley Valentine' and the media, including TV programmes (e.g., 'Holiday Romances in Greece'), Radio programmes (e.g., the 'Real Shirley Valentines in Greece') and newspapers.

This expectation of a holiday romance is reflected in their on-site holiday activities. In addition to spending a considerable amount of time on the beach, swimming and sunbathing, these female tourists also 'enjoy flirting' with waiters or barmen known in Greece as 'Kamakis' ⁸. Like the Ravers, this group of participants sees Kalimeria as an 'easy-going place', a 'place where you can come and go as one pleases', and a 'place where nobody bothers you'. But most importantly, it is seen as a 'romantic place' which provides opportunities 'to be completely relaxed', without any domestic or other family pressures, and as a place which provides them with the opportunities for a 'holiday romance'. This is illustrated in the following extract from a conversation I had with an unaccompanied middle-age female tourist.

'When I'm on holiday, I try to leave my life behind... In England, one fits into the routines of work, children and the requirements of domesticity One of the reasons for coming on holiday on my own, is to forget all that,....It's very different when you're on your own, you've got no pressures here. You can please yourself.....Also nobody knows you here.....And yes, I think, you behave differently when you're away from home. You can let your hair down. It's partly the atmosphere, the beach, and the sunny weather. Yes, Chalkidiki is very romantic. It has a relaxed atmosphere.... The sunshine and the freedom from restraints means that you can relax, and if you give yourself a chance you can find out things about yourself that you didn't know about before.....'

⁸ In Greek, the word kamaki means a harpoon. As in fishing, Kamakis use their skills to 'spear' unaccompanied female tourists (of all ages) who are gauged to be a 'good bet'. The Kamaki is common throughout Greek holiday resorts and has been documented in several studies (Kousis, 1989; Zinovieff, 1990; Ryan, 1991).

A common theme amongst these participants was that a Greek holiday in the sun offered them a temporary 'break from domesticity', from 'family life', from a perceived mundane environment.

Like Ravers, Shirley Valentines seek opportunities to live, albeit temporarily, without inhibitions by becoming involved in a liaison with a stranger. However, unlike the Raver, she wants a particular type of stranger and a particular type of liaison, i.e., a romantic one. Shirley Valentines differ considerably from Ravers, in terms of their holiday activities in that they are not interested in heavy drinking, clubbing or drug taking, whilst on holiday.

When I asked them if they would return to Chalkidiki, a common response was that they 'would love to come back' some time in the 'near future'. The 'dream is to come back' and perhaps to relive the holiday romance with the same 'Greek guy'.

d) The Heliolatrous Type

This cluster of twenty-five participants had in common that they 'just wanted two weeks of hot sunshine', 'just a relaxing holiday in the sun'. This is what one female participant (who was holidaying with her husband) told me:

'The sun definitely is one of the main reasons that I'm here. I need two weeks of hot sunshine. In England, we get very little sun. It's very cold and very miserable, and so, it's very nice to go somewhere, where the climate is totally different. This is very important.'

The size of this cluster is consistent with the fact that the whole area of Chalkidiki is marketed as a place which can 'guarantee the sun' (see Chapter Five). As a type, these

participants had no previous holiday experience of Chalkidiki, but nearly half of them stated that they had visited Greece at least once.

A Heliolatrour commonly perceives a suntan as a fashion accessory. S/he spends the largest part of the holiday (more than seven hours per day was frequent amongst this group), lying on the beach trying indefatigably to change his/her colour, only 'moving to eat, drink, or to take a swim'. The Heliolatrour's experience of the host community is confined primarily to the beach and to the open-air restaurants serving Greek and international cuisine which are to be found along the seafront, and to the occasional Greek tavernas. Unlike the Cultural Heritage type, none of Heliolatrour types had participated in any of the cultural excursions offered by the local tour organisers.

When asked if they would return to Chalkidiki, typical responses were: 'never visit the same resort twice', 'prefer to visit other sunny resorts' or, that 'once is enough, it was cloudy most of the time'. As one male Heliolatrour (who was holidaying with his wife and family) put it:

'when you come to Greece, you expect to find good weather...we had no sun, it has been cloudy most of the time... but it's a great place, heavenly water, quite nice beach and gorgeous mountains...'

Such statements indicate that it is not the cultural authenticity of the village, but the authenticity of the Greek weather that these tourists expect and want. This type of tourist is documented in several studies of tourism in Greece (e.g., Komilis (1996), refers to them as sun-seekers in his work on the Aegean islands).

e) The Lord Byron Type

The defining characteristic of the Lord Byron tourists is the annual ritual return to the same place and, sometimes, to the same accommodation. This was the smallest group, consisting of eleven participants. As a group, these tourists often spoke of Kalimeria as if it were their 'beloved home'⁹ in Schutz's (1971) sense of the term. They seem to have a kind of love affair with Greece, with what they see as a 'relaxed, laid-back and outdoors way of life'. Feeling that they were treated as a 'friend', as a 'member of a family', and not as a tourist, was a common theme amongst these participants.

Unlike the members of the other four types, which collectively comprised (in my sample) the first-time visitors to Kalimeria, members of this small group of repeat visitors are more likely to have protracted contacts with locals, often being invited for a meal either in their 'friends' homes or in a Taverna. In this way the Lord Byron type is likely to have an intimate and direct experience of Greek hospitality. In discussions with Lord Byrons about travel motives, it was evident that Kalimeria was seen by them as a place that also provided them with security.

A note of nostalgia was also detectable in their conversations. Although they expressed concerns about the changes that have been taking place in Kalimeria¹⁰ as a result of

⁹ As used by Schutz (1971: 296), the term 'home' means 'the friends', as well as a 'beloved landscape ...a way of life composed of small and important elements, likewise cherished'. Throughout my fieldwork these 'homecomers' often reported to me that this 'place feels like home' and provided me with detailed accounts of their intimate relationships with their Greek 'friends'. It should be noted that this meaning of the word 'home' contrasts with that ascribed to it by analysts such as Turner and Ash (1975). In their work 'home' is used to refer to a purpose built touristic space which provides the foreign visitor with an environment which is similar to the one back home. As we saw in Chapters Three and Four, many analysts assert that institutionalised tourists often demand or expect something familiar and their experience has often been described as 'home plus sunshine'.

¹⁰ Two participants expressed to me their deep concerns about the modernisation or 'vandalism' of Kalimeria. They were very pleased that someone was undertaking research into tourism in this area

mass tourism (one of their favourite topics of conversations), they still saw their hosts as 'spontaneous', 'child-loving' and 'hospitable', and claimed that 'Greeks haven't changed'. This type of tourist clearly felt that they could have an authentic experience, i.e., human spontaneity and genuine hospitality, by interacting with local people in this host community. This desire for human authenticity, rather than cultural/material or physical/natural authenticity, seems to form the focus of their holiday experience.

This expectation of human authenticity is reflected in several of the Lord Byron's activities. 'I prefer doing things that are Greek', 'I prefer eating out in a real Greek taverna', 'we prefer to use the pantopoleio and the kreopoleio'¹¹ where locals do their shopping', 'we prefer to have our meals where the locals go', are participant statements, which reflect their desire to 'go native'. They also enjoy intermingling with the Greeks in the evening parade along the seafront, and sampling local entertainment in tavernas located in the old parts of Kalimeria.

6. 4 Tourist Motivation

What a tourist does, that is his or her behaviour while on vacation in Chalkidiki, conveys information about his/her motivations¹². Within the social science literature, the word 'motive' has been variously interpreted, when discussing tourism and tourists. Psychological studies tend to provide explanations that emphasise those motives that

and were willing to talk for hours about the changes that have taken place in the village. Tourists' perceptions of Kalimeria and its people are considered in detail in the next chapter.

¹¹ A Pantopoleio is a grocer's shop and a Kreopoleio is a butcher's shop.

¹² In this study I shall use the word 'want' to refer to a thing that is needed or desired. By 'motive' will be meant a factor or circumstance in directing a person to act in a certain way. Hence, 'motivation' is the conscious (or unconscious) stimulus, incentive or motive for an action towards a goal, especially as resulting from psychological or social factors giving purpose or direction to behaviour. 'Expectation' will be used to mean a preconceived idea of what will happen, what someone or something will turn out to be (Shorter Oxford English Dictionary, 1993).

satisfy a tourist's needs (Jarvis and Mayo, 1981; Mannell and Iso-Ahola, 1987). Other studies suggest that motivation is both socially and psychologically determined in that the tourist's home environment plays a key role in influencing his/her reasons for travelling (Dann, 1981; Pearce, 1993).

Some commentators have drawn attention to the difficulties in investigating why people travel (Crompton, 1979; Lundberg, 1985; Krippendorf, 1991). For instance, Lundberg argues that what a traveller says are his reasons for travelling to a destination may be only reflections of deeper needs, needs of which the traveller is not fully aware. Furthermore, as Crompton (*ibid.*) points out, tourists may not be willing to reveal the real reasons for their holiday.

However, as Giddens (1992a: 64) has argued:

'motives do not exist as discrete psychological units... needs are not motives....because they do not imply a cognitive anticipation of a state of affairs to be realised - a defining characteristic of motivation. ... We should regard motivation as an underlying 'feeling state' of the individual' .

These 'underlying feeling states' have to be inferred from my ethnographic data (both conversational and observational) ¹³.

¹³ It is important to note that the account of tourists' motives which follows relies on both my observation of the 'external' features of tourist's behaviour and on my interpretation of conversational data. As mentioned in Chapter Two, while ethnographic interviews were the primary source of data in this study, observation also played an important part in that it helped me to formulate questions and to test my analysis of conversational data. This mutual interaction between observations and ethnographic interviews was ongoing throughout my fieldwork, and hence it is difficult retrospectively to separate them. Watching participants' activities and using these observation as an input into conversations with them is common practice in ethnographic research which uses both the deductive and inductive approach in the analysis of a social phenomenon. As Hammersley (1995: 168-69) points out, 'all research involves both deduction and induction in the broad senses of those terms; in all research we move from ideas to data as well as from data to ideas....We can never entirely escape our own assumptions about the world'.

a) The Individual Mass Tourist

At the macro level, tourists' expectations are created, at least partly, by the marketing strategies and publicity brochures of holiday operators (Buck, 1977; Urry, 1991; Dann, 1996a; Selwyn, 1996). These are reinforced by media representations (both fictional, documentary and news), which themselves deploy cultural stereotypes, e.g., Zorba the Greek, blue-seas-blue skies, etc. These expectations of a country and a holiday-type at least partly influence the choice of a particular holiday. However, for the participants in this study, holiday choice is motivated by one, or several, of three 'feeling states'. These are: a wish to escape from everyday life; the pursuit of pleasure, and ontological security. These are discussed in turn below.

i) The Need to Escape

As we saw in Chapters Three and Four, the theme of escape is a major preoccupation in theoretical discourses on why people leave their home environment to travel to another country for a holiday. This has variously been explained in terms of a need for rest and recovery (e.g., Wagner, 1977; Cohen, 1979a; Moore, 1980; Graburn, 1989a), or a need to escape from an alienating or anomic modern world (e.g., Hiller, 1976; MacCannell, 1976; Dann, 1977; Clark and Critcher, 1985; Nash, 1989; Krippendorf, 1991). Such differences in interpretation reflect the theorist's own attitude towards his/her culture. This is evident, for example, in Boorstin's account of the state of American society (see Chapter Three).

When asked about their travel motives, a common theme amongst the majority of my participants was the wish 'to forget about work' or 'to forget about everyday life', and at

the same time, to 'become absorbed' into something different. Analysis of these statements shows that a two week vacation is seen by many of them as 'a break' from everyday life. This was expressed in a variety of ways: 'getting away from all the pressures at work and at home'; 'to relax away from England'; a 'holiday away from kids'; a break away 'from family obligations'; 'from parents'; and 'from work'; 'it's just a holiday'; 'we just wanted a relaxing holiday in the sun'; 'just wanted to switch off from work'; 'to forget my dull everyday life'; 'its a break away from England'; a 'drinking holiday, away from home'. As one expressed it:

'Because you are not going to work, so you just do what you want to do, you haven't got a routine...Your life isn't structured so you can please yourself when you get up, when you eat, what you do. Well it's completely different here. You can forget about work. It's just great.'

These findings give empirical support to the contention that a break from everyday life is a significant general motive for holidaying abroad (e.g., Cohen and Taylor, 1992). As Cohen and Taylor (*ibid.*: 49) put it, people become 'fed up and feel the need to break away a little, to shake off some routines' ¹⁴.

¹⁴ It should be noted that this empirical evidence derives from a relatively small sample of tourists, i.e., primarily from a sub-sample of 56 participants (Cultural Heritage, 16/18; Heliolatrous, 20/25; Shirley Valentines, 10/14; Lord Byrons, 5/11; Ravers, 5/18). The majority of Ravers told me that 'sex and to get drunk' were the main reasons for coming to Greece for their holiday. However, these two explanations are far from mutually exclusive, as I will show in the next sections.

Because of the methodological choices I made, it was not always possible to collect data relating to the factors that motivate people to leave their home environment. As explained in Chapter Two, the main aim of this study was to investigate tourists' experiences of Kalimeria and its people, and it was this that influenced my decision to employ a less structured approach to the collection of data. Hence, further research is required in order to shed more light on the escape aspect of tourist motivation. Nonetheless, my evidence supports the argument that going on holiday to Greece is valued for the temporary break from everyday life that it provides.

ii) The Desire for Pleasure

While escaping from everyday demands and obligations is one motivational factor, the expectation of 'having a good time' is another equally important one. For participants, going away on holiday to Kalimeria carries with it notions of endless 'carefree' time to pursue the pleasures and enjoyments of one's choosing.

Phrases used by participants such as, 'freedom to do one's own thing', 'to do what I want', or even 'to do nothing, just enjoy the sunshine', capture one of the motivational factors influencing tourist's holiday choice. Specifics mentioned by participants include: 'sightseeing'; 'eating and drinking outdoors in local tavernas'; 'strolling along the waterfront'; 'roasting in the sun'; 'dancing'; 'flirting with waiters'; and 'casual sex'. This evidence supports the consensus found in the literature, that tourists travel to another country in the 'expectation of pleasure' (e.g., Cohen, 1974; Lundberg, 1985).

In this study, pleasure is taken to mean:

'the anticipation of good things to come. Pleasure may come from the relief of pain, respite from boredom, escape from the routine of life. It may be the feelings that come with sensuous gratification - a warm bath, basking in the sun, eating, drinking, sex, or even the thought of it. Change in itself may bring pleasure. Play is generally thought to be exciting and associated with pleasure.'

Lundberg (1985: 130)

As we will see in the following chapter, the desire for pleasure, which is seen by Cohen as the defining characteristic of the institutionalised tourist, is multi-faceted. My evidence suggests that the 'expectation of pleasure' in its various manifestations (aesthetic, cognitive, physical, emotional, sensual and sexual) is one of the motivational forces influencing the tourist's choice of holiday type.

iii) Ontological Security

A common theme amongst many visitors to Chalkidiki was that a pre-packaged holiday 'makes you feel safe if anything goes wrong'. In other words, as an 'institutionalised tourist', the tourist is able to 'feel secure' while enjoying the 'strangeness' of the Chalkidiki experience. This is what a first-time male visitor to Chalkidiki told me:

'Package holidays are very attractive... you don't have to worry about many things...you pay your money and get to the airport, you are met by your representative, who reminds you to put your labels on your case,.. you arrive in Thessaloniki...you get off the plane you are met by the representative... go through passport control ... and you get picked up by the coach and from there you go to your hotel... Oh yes, everything is organised down to the last detail - your rep comes around to see if there is anything you would like.... - and yes, it makes your feel safe.'

A package holiday to Chalkidiki 'makes you feel safe, if anything goes wrong' was often reported to me. As we will see in the following chapter, the reality for many holidaymakers is that their holiday is actually characterised by minor negative side-effects such as health problems (Ryan, 1991; Clift and Grabowski, 1997; Wickens, 1997). In these circumstances, if people choose to go on a pre-packaged holiday, which is free from risks to health, as well as physical hardships, 'it need not be despised as evidence of an unadventurous tourist, unimaginative cast of mind' (Rojek, 1993: 176).

We shall return to this theme in Chapter Eight, but at this point it is worth noting that commitment to the institutionalised tourist role is based on the tourist's need for security and familiarity. However, it is not only the newcomer or the occasional visitors to Chalkidiki who reported to me, this 'need for security'. An elderly female repeat visitor told me:

'Oh yes. I always look forward to a holiday in Chalkidiki. I think that there are so many pluses about coming back to the same place, to the same hotel more than once..... the security, that you feel, coming back to the same place that is familiar is disproportionate to the way one would feel if one was going to a place on one's own. And yes, you are made to feel very welcome....'

These tourists have a need for what Giddens (1991) calls 'ontological security'. This term refers to the 'confidence that most human beings have in the continuity of their self-identity and in the constancy of the surrounding social and material environments of action' (ibid.: 92). Further, 'ontological security is one form, but a very important form, of feelings of security' (ibid.). According to Giddens, ontological security is 'an emotional' phenomenon, which is rooted in the unconscious. It feeds into many things that people do, and provides a sense of continuity. 'Ontological security and routine are intimately connected, via the pervasive influence of habit' (ibid.: 98). Viewed in this light, Giddens' concept helps to explain why so many visitors to Chalkidiki choose to experience the 'strangeness' of this host community from the security provided by a packaged holiday.

The notion of ontological security is closely related to Schutz's (1971) argument that the 'strangeness' of a place and its people may cause an 'outsider' to feel uneasy and even insecure. Schutz defines an 'outsider' as someone 'who joins a group that is not and never has been his own' (ibid.: 294). Being in a state of transition, an outsider does not see the new and strange environment as 'a shelter but a field of adventure...a problematic situation itself and one hard to master' (Schutz, ibid.). The strangeness of a place is experienced by the outsider as a 'labyrinth' in which s/he has yet to find his/her 'bearings'. Moreover, strangers are more likely to experience culture shock as a challenge to the 'validity of their habitual thinking as usual' when they discover that things in their new and strange social environment are different from what pertains at home. Schutz's overall argument is that familiarity with a social environment creates feelings of security, and by contrast, strangeness produces feelings of insecurity and

uneasiness. According to him, 'strangeness and familiarity' are the two most general categories for interpreting our social world. Familiarity refers to the knowledge we have of another social group and its cultural pattern (Schutz, *ibid.*).

My evidence indicates that many first time visitors to Chalkidiki do indeed experience a form of culture shock, when they discover that things in Kalimeria are different or even 'primitive'. One participant told me that:

'Chalkidiki has the worst lavatories I have ever experienced. One was in the Apolikio restaurant..... it was just a hole in the ground,...and I was thinking - how could people have that in here. No, you wouldn't have this in England.'

A similar complaint was reported to me by a female tourist.

'I don't like the plumbing, that's the only thing- Greek plumbing, my God, it is so primitive. Yes, it's primitive..Because the toilet situation where you have to put paper in the bin - that's so strange. Yuk. And the second thing; you try and have a shower and the water runs out in five minutes. It's not solar heating, but when they do electrical heating, they have little tanks and the tanks are always too small and they are always freezing cold, and you've got to rinse it out. It's a nightmare.'

Many participants experienced revulsion at having to place toilet paper into a waste bin rather than being able to flush it away. They failed to appreciate that the expansion of the village had out-paced the ability of the infrastructure to cope. This is a good example of Schutz's 'habitual thinking as usual'.

However, repeat visitors also experience some uneasiness when they discover that things are not as 'natural' as they appear. A Lord Byron type told me:

'Sometimes, they take you around the back to the kitchen in the restaurant and show you what they are cooking.... but it is a little bit frightening for English people to do that sort of thing. I mean I do it now, but it's taken me years and years to do that. But I'm still a bit reticent about going into kitchens. I still feel it's not right, you know, I still feel it's not right to go into someone's kitchen; it's such an un-English thing. So different in England.'

This clearly illustrates the tourist's feelings of uneasiness, and in addition it lends credence to Shutz's argument that a stranger perceives his/her new surrounding through his/her own 'cultural lenses'.

Another area where the need for ontological security was evident was in regard to food and drink. One Cultural Heritage tourist told me:

'This place is very westernised..... they do things the tourists like - English breakfasts and things like that.. They do things like MacDonalds and many things like that ... people buy it because they recognise it Oh yes, I would buy a MacDonalds because I recognise it....But I would probably say afterwards 'Oh God, not bloody MacDonalds'. But I'd eat it because I'd recognise the thing, so it would be better if I have more restaurants that do English and Greek.... It would be much better.... I would like to go in a restaurant and maybe have an English meal and then have the Greek people to bring me in a taste of something so I could taste it. So, then you could taste a bit of this and a bit of that and get an idea of what it is all about. What I think is the perfect situation - a restaurant that did half Greek and half English. A restaurant that really did typical Greek things, not just moussaka.'

Throughout my fieldwork I have found that, while tourists try to leave their everyday life behind, they still try to retain many of the basic routines of their own culture. Foreign travellers to Chalkidiki carry within themselves a portable culture. This comprises those cultural elements that are associated with an individual's deep rooted habits. This finding supports Cohen's (1972) observation that familiarity enables the institutionalised tourists 'to feel secure enough to enjoy the strangeness of what they experience' (Cohen, *ibid.*: 166). As he points out:

'not even modern man is completely ready to immerse himself wholly in an alien environment.... For man is still basically moulded by his native culture and bound through habit to its patterns of behaviour. Hence, complete abandonment of these customs and complete immersion in a new and alien environment may be experienced as unpleasant and even threatening, especially if prolonged. Most tourists seem to need something familiar around them, something to remind them of home, whether it be food, newspapers, living quarters...'

Similarly, Krippendorf (1991: 32) points out that if a place is:

‘too different from the habitual scene, it produces a feeling of unease, even insecurity. People want the familiar. They’re accustomed to certain things and amongst them they feel at ease. The same food, the same drinks....’

Participants frequently expressed a wish for familiar food and drink. For instance, food like schnitzel, or the traditional full English breakfast. Similarly with beverages. A common complaint from English tourists was that Greeks ‘don’t know how to make tea’, because it is often made with tinned or ‘Carnation Milk’. This is what a male participant told me:

‘We’ve had tea made with cold water - that was a strange experience with tea. And they [the Greek owners of the hotel] look really surprised if you ask for a pot of tea.....You’re not even asked, you’re just given Nescafe.’

Participants often reported that: ‘we miss a nice cup of tea here in Kalimeria...they don’t know how to make a nice cup of tea’; ‘when I’ve asked for a cup of tea I get a funny look, either you get labelled as an awful tourist,...or they immediately think you are poorly’; ‘With your tea, usually you get tinned milk which gives it a slightly funny taste’; and ‘Greeks don’t know how to make a proper cup of tea’¹⁵. Such statements certainly reflect tourists’ deep habits, and at the same time, illustrate how they interpret their new cultural experiences (Wickens, 1996).

b) The Individual Tourist

The preceding section has discussed the motivating ‘feeling states’ which primarily determine the decision to become an ‘individual mass tourist’. My five-fold typology requires us to consider motivation at the level of the individual. Each of the five tourist

¹⁵ This stems from a lack of refrigeration both for the distribution and local storage of fresh milk. In Greece tea is a herbal drink taken for medicinal purposes. It is significant that in several resorts in Chalkidiki, ‘Nes’ has nearly replaced the Greek word for coffee, and is used by tourists as well as by many Greeks.

types identified within the population of eighty six participants may be characterised by a dominant motive that operates in conjunction with one or several of those discussed in the previous section. See the table below.

The motives listed in the following table are the 'feeling states', which underpin the individual's choice of holiday activities, and, therefore, they characterise the type to which I have allotted him/her.

<u>Type</u>	<u>Number in Sample</u> ¹⁶	<u>Dominant Motive</u>
Cultural Heritage	M = 6, F = 12	To experience the culture/ 'Greekness'
Raver	M = 8, F = 10	Hedonistic experiences
Shirley Valentine	F = 14	Romance
Heliolatrous	M = 11, F = 14	Sun, sea, sand
Lord Byron	M = 5, F = 6	Assimilation/acceptance/ friendship

An interpretative framework for my typology may be derived from Goffman's work (1961 and 1967) and is set out below.

¹⁶ M = male, F = female.

i) 'Role' as a Sociological Concept

It is generally accepted, that the word 'role' refers to the pattern of behaviour expected of an individual who occupies a particular status (see Giddens, 1991). Each role carries with it certain characteristic actions, emotions, and attitudes. It 'has some conceptual precision only if applied in the context of social interactions... All social interaction is situated interaction - situated in space and time' (Giddens, *ibid.*: 86).

According to Goffman (1961: 96), an individual's 'situated role' comprises a 'bundle of activities visibly performed before a set of others and visibly meshed into the activity these others perform'. It is the 'bundle' (or cluster) of holiday activities undertaken by the foreign visitor to Kalimeria, which were used to derive the primary characteristics of each of my tourists types. This bundle of holiday activities, however, 'cannot be considered fully' (*ibid.*), rather we can only study an individual's participation in certain 'situated activities', such as those which have been regularly reported by participants in this study and sequentially or simultaneously observed in the course of my fieldwork. By focusing on these situated activities, we can also consider the tourist's 'face-to-face interactions' with 'the other', including their Greek hosts. This approach contrasts markedly with many previous studies of tourist motivations, which have made the assumption that institutionalised tourists are both physically and socially segregated from the host community (see Chapters Three and Four).

ii) The Tourist's 'Role Enactment'

The concept of 'role' as used by Goffman derives from the language of the theatre. His starting point is that each individual, like an actor in a theatre, has 'lines, props and

costumes' that are suitable for an effective performance (ibid.). Drawing upon Durkheim's work on religion, Goffman draws a useful distinction between the 'profane' and the 'sacred' parts of a social role. The 'profane part' is said to be 'attributed to the obligatory world of social roles; it is formal, ...and it is exacted by society' (ibid.: 152). By contrast, the 'sacred part' of a social role 'has to do with personal matters and personal relationships - with what an individual is really like underneath it all' when s/he 'relaxes'. It is here, that an individual can be 'spontaneous' and show 'what kind of a person s/he wishes to be' (ibid.: 152).

Goffman's theoretical model recognises that social actors are constrained by external societal controls, and at the same time it suggests that an individual has a choice of whether to 'stay in role' or to 'go out of role'. As he explains 'roles differ according to how seriously and fully the performers... stick to the script. Even in the most serious of roles, such as a surgeon, we yet find that there will be times when the fully-fledged performer' will 'go out of play' and behave in a manner 'unbecoming' a surgeon (ibid.: 140). Goffman's overall argument is that people, like actors on a stage, have the 'option' of performing their parts either enthusiastically, by closely identifying with the characters and actions; or by distancing themselves from the part they are interpreting.

Goffman's concept of 'role enactment', which he analysed in terms of 'role commitment', 'role attachment' and 'role embracement', underpins his theoretical model. 'Role commitment' describes the 'profane' parts of a role which are 'imposed' on the social actor. 'Role attachment' refers to those 'sacred' parts that an individual

‘wishes to play’. ‘Role embracement’ denotes the ‘active and spontaneous involvement’ in the role activity (ibid.: 106).

Employing Goffman’s vocabulary to interpret the roles that tourists play, it can be seen that my respondents have committed themselves into Cohen’s ‘institutionalised tourist role’, or more specifically, into the ‘individual mass’ tourist role. This ‘role commitment’ has been explicated in the previous section in terms of three fundamental ‘feeling states’, i.e., escape from everyday life, pursuit of pleasure and ontological security. Despite the commitment to play the ‘profane’ part of this role via a package largely shaped by the tourist industry, an individual can choose to ‘step outside’ this role and attach him/herself to one of five types. ‘Role attachment’ is used here to refer to an individual’s inclination to play an additional ‘sacred’ part during his/her vacation in Chalkidiki. The more closely a particular tourist’s activities coincide with those typical of a particular type, the stronger his/her ‘role embracement’¹⁷.

Role embracement is used in this study to describe the tourist’s active engagement in certain activities. As Goffman points out, to embrace a role ‘is to disappear completely

¹⁷ It is important not to push this interpretive framework too far. I am not arguing that these five tourist types exist in some platonic sense and that each tourist must belong uniquely to only one type. These types have been constructed in the research setting through a process of interaction between myself, my participants, my data and previous studies. Clearly the behaviours chosen to characterise each of the ideal typical tourist categories described in this study could conceivably be bundled in a different way by another researcher. What I do claim is that these five types emerged from my data and that they have proved useful and robust both in analysing this data and in gaining some understanding of tourists’ motivations and behaviour.

Equally, the behaviours characterising a particular type are not all found to the same extent in every individual assigned to a particular category. The degree to which they are exhibited consistently by a given individual depends to some extent on the strength of his/her role embracement. What I am claiming is that these types provide a framework for gaining insights into particular types of behaviour, which were frequently encountered amongst my respondents and which were consistently patterned in particular ways.

into the virtual self available in the situation' (ibid.: 106). More importantly, according to Goffman, the 'virtual self' refers to an individual's 'expectations'. In other words, role embracement also denotes the nature of the tourists' expectations. For instance, the Heliolatrous type wants and therefore expects sunny climates, clean beaches; the Cultural Heritage type expects to experience the Greek culture/hospitality; the Shirley Valentine type expects a holiday romance; the Raver expects sexual adventure and the Lord Byron expects to be treated by the hosts as a 'special guest' and to become involved in the lives of their hosts/friends.

It is also true to say, that under certain circumstances, an individual has no option, but to continue to play the 'profane' parts associated with the role of the individual mass tourist. For instance, people on a one week package holiday are constrained by time, and perhaps are more likely to stay in the role of the institutionalised tourist, with no real feel for the hosts or the place. In other words, an individual's role embracement may also be determined by other factors such as the length of stay in Chalkidiki. This tentative observation on the significance of holiday duration warrants further study.

As mentioned in Chapter Two, visiting places such as bars, tavernas and cafes, and spending long periods on the beach talking to tourists, allowed me to gain an initial feel for, and understanding of tourists' expectations¹⁸. As Goffman stresses, when social

¹⁸ As a researcher, I regularly found myself participating in events I wished to observe. On reflection, it is apparent that on some occasions my participation in events such as Taverna evenings showed a level of embracement of the tourist role which was only slightly weaker than that of the tourists themselves. However, on other occasions, for example in bars, I had found myself totally embracing the role of researcher. These varying circumstances of data collection are 'typical' of ethnographic research that seeks to 'minimise the adulteration of the setting under investigation' (see Bryman, 1992: 58). Being close to the people I was studying sensitized me to the complexity of the phenomenon under study, in particular to the issue of reliability of research of this kind. My interpretation of observations of tourist behaviour was, however, discussed with a key informant, an English barman. Robert (a

actors play their 'sacred parts', they also convey information about their desires and expectations.¹⁹

'whatever an individual does and however he appears, he knowingly and unknowingly makes information available concerning the attributes that might be imputed to him and hence the categories in which he might be placed'

(Goffman, *ibid.*: 102).

c) The Touristic Experience: A Fresh Perspective

As we saw in earlier chapters, theoretical approaches to tourism as a cultural phenomenon treat tourists as conforming completely to their institutionalised role. Holidaymakers are denied any autonomy, or freedom in structuring their holiday experience. A further assertion found in previous studies is that all tourists are physically and socially segregated from the host community and remain in and around the 'tourist bubble'. In this way, it is alleged, they are shielded from the experience of any offensive smells, primitive sanitary conditions and the strangeness of the culinary tastes of the host communities. The package is programmed to make the foreign visitor's stay enjoyable, free from any problems or any unpleasant experiences. Confined to these purpose-built 'tourist factories', visitors rarely participate in the lives of the host

pseudonym) was always willing to talk to me and more importantly to facilitate my access to younger tourists (18 - 24 years old). I very much doubt whether I would have been able to have access to this sample of the population, and therefore to have been able to gather information on their holiday experiences, using other methods.

¹⁹ As mentioned in Chapter Two, the collection and the analysis of data from different sources was concurrent and started in the early stages of fieldwork. This field analysis was also conditioned by my methodological understanding that in order to get a sense of the phenomenon under study, the researcher should categorise the different segments of participants' talk. Developing categories in the course of fieldwork allows one to place similar responses from different interviews together into one category. Furthermore, the results of ethnographic interviews should be further tested with observations of behaviour. It is this mutual interaction of observation and ethnographic interviews that sensitised me to the recurrent topics and themes used to place participants in my typology. (See Chapter Two for further detail on the procedures used to analyse participants' talk.)

community (MacCannell, 1976). The 'tourist factory', so conceived, has all the characteristics of Goffman's (1991) 'total institution'.

Total institutions, such as prisons or mental hospitals, have the following characteristics. Firstly, inmates rarely come into contact with anyone other than fellow inmates and staff. Secondly, the institution provides inmates with organised activities, standardised food and sleeping accommodation. Thirdly, the staff of the institution supervise all the daily activities of the inmates; for instance, where and when they have their meals, or sleep and so on. The regimented rules of the total institutions dictate the inmates' activities and constrain their behaviour. Goffman's study shows that inmates' everyday routines and experiences are very much determined by the total institution.

A comparable interpretation of tourists' experience is evident in several studies (e.g. Boorstin, 1964 ; Turner and Ash, 1975; MacCannell, 1976). As we saw in Chapter Three, these thinkers suggest that the tourist's experience is regimentally programmed, standardised and homogenised, by the tourist industry, i.e., that it is totally institutionalised. This theoretical model sees tourism as a system, carefully organised to ensure that tourists, like the 'inmates' of an institution, act the 'profane parts', and only the profane parts, which have been assigned to them by the tourist industry.

By contrast, the evidence from this study, suggests that we can usefully distinguish between the 'profane' and the 'sacred parts' of a tourist's experience. The profane parts of the experience of going on holiday and staying in a host community are undoubtedly institutionally arranged. However, it is the contention of this study that without proper

consideration of the sacred part we will not gain a sufficiently rich and deep understanding of the touristic experience.

6.5 An Evaluation of the Study's Typology

My methodological thinking during the early stages of research was shaped by the writings of those thinkers (e.g., Cohen, 1972 and 1979a; Pearce, 1982; Dann, 1981 and 1988) who make the important point that capturing the complexity of the phenomenon of mass tourism, requires a theoretical approach which includes a tourist typology. As Dann (1981: 195) explains, 'in the right hands a classificatory scheme represents a powerful instrument for understanding this phenomenon'. However, he goes on to point out that a tourist typology is a heuristic device constructed to aid research and, therefore, that our categories are best regarded as 'ideal typical constructs' in Weber's sense of this term. By adopting this nominalist Weberian position, my typology is firmly grounded in a sociological tradition which suggests that the construction of 'ideal types' for ordering, understanding and explaining data is central to the development of any understanding of human action in social settings. This study does not, therefore, claim that these five tourist types are 'real' in the sense of having an independent and tangible existence (see note 17).

The construction of a typology not only aided the comparison and interpretation of early ethnographic data collected in the summer of 1993, but it also helped me to gradually focus my research in the next wave of data collection (see Chapter Two). The five clusters or typological forms which emerged from the first round of data collection were then tested, refined and retested in the field during 1995 and 1996.

While my five-fold division of participants is based on analytically separate motivation/behaviour patterns which reflect the primary characteristics of a particular tourist type, in reality tourists tend to exhibit a mixture of two or more such behaviour patterns. For instance, both the Raver and the Heliolatrous spend a lot of time on the beach. They differ, however, in that one seeks hedonistic pleasure while the other wants a tan. To this extent my five-fold classification is neither neat nor exhaustive, in that some tourists have 'multiple membership' of the groups. Or, to put it another way, no individual tourist completely fits any one type. However, despite its limitation, this clustering of the participants into these five types does capture something of the complexity of participants' motivations.

As mentioned earlier, this sub-division is based on a relatively small sample of participants. It is not a claim of this study that the five tourists types are 'typical' in the sense of statistically representative. They are best seen, to borrow a phrase from Ryan (1995: 260), as 'one approximation of a truth' but 'not the entire truth'. Its strength lies in the fact that the five types are supported by ethnographic data, including data from conversations and semi-structured interviews with participants in a natural setting over a period of several summers. However, the nature and the size of the study's sub-samples do call for a degree of caution when evaluating the applicability of this typology outside of this study.

Despite the limitations mentioned above, this new typology has proved a useful analytical tool in two other studies, one of tourists' health (Wickens, 1997), the other on tourist workers and ethnicity (Lazaridis and Wickens, forthcoming).

6. 6 Conclusion

Cohen's work on the institutionalised tourist provided a starting point for the development of a new tourist typology. I have argued that, when judged in terms of tourists' holiday activities and expectations, Cohen's individual mass tourist can be seen not to be a unitary type. As a consequence, I have presented a five-fold classification of tourists which is firmly grounded in ethnographic data.

Three 'feeling states' have been identified - the wish to escape from everyday life, the pursuit of pleasure, and ontological security - as motivating a tourist's engagement in the individual mass tourist role. Goffman's concept of 'role enactment' and its elaboration in terms of 'role commitment', 'role attachment' and 'role embracement' have been deployed to provide a powerful theoretical framework for understanding the differences between the five tourist types found in this study. In addition, methodological issues have been considered and the strengths and weaknesses of the new typology evaluated.

In the following chapter this typology is deployed in order to explore the various dimensions of 'authenticity' as experienced by tourists in Chalkidiki.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Tourists' Voices: The Authentic Experience?

7.1 Introduction

Organised in three parts, this chapter discusses tourists' holiday experiences of one host community in Chalkidiki. The first part of the chapter considers their experiences of Greek evening entertainment. Organised by the tourist industry, the taverna evening is consumed mainly by Cultural Heritage, Lord Byron, Heliolatrous and Shirley Valentine types. Further evidence is provided to support the view that tourists are aware that such evenings are put on for them by their hosts (e.g., Urry, 1991).

Tourists' accounts of Kalimeria and its people is the main theme in the second part of this chapter. It is suggested that participants' accounts of Kalimeria, and their versions of encounters with members of this local community, are reflections of their own motivations and expectations. These stories correlate strongly with the five tourist types described in the previous chapter.

The last part of this chapter shows that the Chalkidiki experience is often characterised by minor health complaints and/or other problems.

7.2 The Taverna As An Icon of 'Greekness'

As mentioned in the previous chapter, it is recognised that, as institutionalised tourists, the role commitment of all of the participants in this study means that they consume events that are organised by the tourist industry. Packaged by local entrepreneurs, the taverna evening of 'Greek-style' entertainment provides an illustration of the 'profane'

aspects of the Kalimeria experience. The following discussion focuses on participant's consumption of this type of 'staged' cultural event.

Kalimeria, like other resorts in Chalkidiki, has a number of tavernas that offer what they describe as a 'traditional evening of Greek entertainment'. This includes bouzouki music and dance. Taverna A, which is located on the outskirts of the village, offers such an evening every Sunday ¹. The Taverna serves a 'hybrid' cuisine. For instance, the traditional mezedes (normally an extensive variety of salads and appetizers, meat, fish and vegetable dishes) is re-structured into a Western-style three course meal. The meal itself is a combination of Greek and Western European dishes, such as moussaka with chips, souvlaki with rice, frozen peas, tinned carrots and sweetcorn. Although they are combined to appeal to the tourists' palates, they still retain a hint of the local flavour, served with the horyiatiki salata (a salad topped with olives and feta cheese), and with plenty of local Makedoniko wine ².

In addition, traditional Greek dances are performed. These are often simplified and modernised versions of the original. For example, the Zembetico (a spontaneous solo dance in which a male expresses his mood of melancholy and suffering) is often mass produced, being performed by young local Greek men and women dressed in a standardised version of traditional native costumes. These groups are instructed to entice tourists onto the dance floor to participate in these dances ³. The selection of

¹ On Fridays, this restaurant offers an 'Austrian night' and on Tuesdays and Thursdays a cabaret and Karaoke entertainment designed to attract a British audience.

² Makedoniko wine is the locals' favourite retsina.

³ In the summer of 1993, these dances used to end with the traditional smashing of plaster plates. However, on my return visit to Kalimeria in the summer of 1994, I found that this no longer took place as part of the entertainment.

Bouzouki music played in Taverna 'A' has also been modified - excluding much of the local and more traditional folk tunes which are older, less well known and thus more difficult to 'appreciate' - in order to appeal to the tastes of Western European visitors.

Fieldwork shows that such an evening is recognised by participants for what it is, 'a show put on for tourists'. They are fully aware that the taverna evening is merely an enjoyable spectacle put on by their Greek 'hosts' especially for them and that what they are experiencing is not 'authentic', but rather a 'hybrid' cultural event which has been diluted in order to appeal to the foreign consumers. When asked about their taverna evening, participants made such statements as: 'Yes I've enjoyed it'; 'we had a good time'; 'it was a good show'; 'a memorable evening'; 'we had lots of fun'; 'loved it'; 'yes, it's the stuff put on for tourists, but still we've enjoyed it'; 'it was great, we had lots of fun'.

The 'expectation of pleasure' from a game of going native seems to motivate particularly the 'touristic consciousness' of the Shirley Valentines, the Heliolatrous, the Cultural Heritage and the Lord Byrons. They are willing to play the game of being a tourist by day and a native by night, because it is fun and exciting. The evidence shows that tourists are not passive consumers of these 'pseudo' or 'staged', or 'superficial' events as has been asserted in previous studies (e.g., Boorstin, 1964). As Urry (1991) observes, tourists are able to recognise the 'inauthenticity' of such ritual performances. Tourists know that what they see in such 'staged backs' is another show. My evidence supports the argument that the knowing tourist takes part in such staged events because

it is 'fun', 'a 'game', and that is what they want while on holiday i.e., a 'good time' and 'pleasure' (Moore, 1980; Gottlieb, 1982; Urry, 1991; Cohen and Taylor, 1992).

However, all of the Lord Byron participants, the majority of both the Cultural Heritage (15/18) and the Shirley Valentine types (10/15) told me that they had also visited other Greek tavernas, such as Taverna 'E', for a taste of a 'real' Greek entertainment. This Taverna is situated in the old part of the village and offers music played by a small group of professional musicians and 'real Greek food cooked by Greeks'. In addition, it offers traditional dancing, often performed by the waiters/waitresses. On Fridays and Saturdays, it provides foreign visitors with 'lessons in Greek dancing'. This taverna is also popular with Greeks, both those who are on holiday in Kalimeria and permanent residents of the village.

The following extract from a conversation I had with a repeat visitor ⁴ at Taverna E illustrates a common experience.

'Yes, we've been to this taverna several times. We love the food and the friendly atmosphere.....there are some very good local dancers here.... just look at them....they enjoy getting up and dancingSo you can still get spontaneous Greek dancing here at this taverna. That's what we like very much, you still get the spontaneity here in Kalimeria.'

This, and similar evidence, suggests that this taverna is seen by participants as 'the real thing'. Comments from participants included: 'it is typically Greek'; 'yes, it's the real thing'; 'you get real Greek music'; 'good Greek food'; 'it's spontaneous'; 'it's very Greek'; 'typically Greek'; 'a typical night of Greek style entertainment'; 'it's not touristy'; 'it has local atmosphere'; 'it's very Greek'; 'it's mainly for Greeks, not for

⁴ This middle-aged tourist and her holiday companions (her husband and her eighty-year old mother) are the oldest regular visitors to Kalimeria in my sample.

tourists'. Analysis reveals that my respondents see participation by Greeks as an indicator of the 'authenticity' of this cultural event. In particular, the spontaneous participation by hosts in the Greek dancing makes this part of the experience meaningful for the tourist. What is more, it is used to distinguish between an 'authentic' and, an 'inauthentic' i.e., a mass produced, event like that at Taverna A. For them, the quality of their experience of a Greek taverna depends on the context. This observation is of interest because the Greek evenings at Tavernas A and E are both 'staged' events, that is they are both intended for foreign consumption. Despite this, my respondents interpret them quite differently.

The significance of 'authenticity' in the touristic experience is considered in detail in the next chapter. The following sections present tourists' accounts and interpretations of their holiday experiences in Kalimeria. Most of the material derives from interviews with the British participants referred to in the previous chapter, but data from other sources (e.g., from my key informants) has also been utilised.

7.3 Tourists' Narratives

a) Lord Byrons:

i) Perceptions of Kalimeria

The modernisation and commercialisation of Kalimeria resulting from tourism was a frequent topic in my discussions with this type of tourist. This is what a female Lord Byron who has been coming with her partner to Kalimeria for several years had to say about the transformation of the village.

'I can remember in 1978 there was nothing - just the Greek way of life. Kalimeria was initially a small fishing village....it was very quiet, and casual. There was our little hotel, and a big hotel opposite and along there, were few tavernas and shops.....The

little houses that you could see, the doors open and there would just be a stone slab inside, the mattress on top, a big television and one little wooden chair; and outside there would be four little bricks and there would be a little black pot and a little fire underneath it and whoever in the house was cooking their meal. To me that is the side I like very much and would describe as true Greek lifeKalimeria has changed in that a lot more hotels have been built and I'm sorry to say that they're spoiling it... Now, there are a lot more tavernas, bars, pubs and shops. It has become very westernised, I can only liken it to English Blackpool now, with its pubs, bars and discos.'

This graphic account of Kalimeria's transformation from a quiet fishing village into a modern and 'cosmopolitan' holiday resort suggests that tourism has destroyed the village's 'true' Greek way of life. At the same time, in voicing her idealization of this Greek community, she illustrates her conceptualisation of 'Greekness', which is, at least partly, grounded in her collection of memories of previous visits to Kalimeria. This sense of nostalgia, together with a concern about the changes in the village, were often detectable in participants' narratives.

For example, the following extract from a recorded conversation with another Lord Byron ⁵ illustrates this concern at the 'commoditization' of the local culture.

'It seems very different from the time we first came here. It is too commercialised now - bars, pubs, discos, many eating places, and shops. Very crowded... A lot of noise in the street and a lot of traffic - motorbikes, cars, stacks of cars.... the village itself, seems to have grown considerably, almost in a sort of ribbon along the main road. I have noticed now, the roads are much better, in places and the road signs; I don't know whether it's because I'm understanding more Greek but the road signs have changed.....road signs are now represented in Greek and Latin letters. What I find really sick-making is the fact that a lot of the signs for the hotels, and tavernas are represented in English letters now, and that seems to spoil it a lot....'

⁵ This participant's holiday companions included her brother and his wife. She told me that she has been coming with her husband and her family (two girls) to this village for the last five years. Her brother and his wife were first time visitors to Greece.

Lord Byron participants often reported sentiments such as: the 'village has changed'; 'it's very commercialised'; 'it is a resort now, a purpose built resort'; 'it's no longer a proper Greek village'.

Other cultural changes which had been observed by them and reported to me include: 'I've noticed that they do things tourists like, such as - English breakfasts and things like MacDonalds, because tourists are unwilling to go native and have what the Greeks have...'; 'the Greeks now provide European Western things like Nescafe, MacDonalds'.

A similar concern about the ongoing 'McDonaldisation' of Kalimeria, is expressed in the following recorded extract with this male participant ⁶:

'this place is now very commercialised and very Westernised.....there are lots of shops, of gift shops, things for tourists to buy.....Lots and lots of tee shirts, beach balls, pottery which isn't particularly nice, lots of gaudy things which we don't like, nothing really to do with Greek culture. It is just something to attract the tourists, the tourists take home thinking that they are taking back something Greek, and it really isn't Greek, I don't think it is.'

This concern about the perceived inauthenticity of Greek material culture is also evident in the following passage from a recorded conversation with another participant ⁷:

'It is so commercialised - the flashing lights, discotheques and it's noisy. Loud music, mixed bars - Greek signs are in English and all in flashing bright lights. To me, you know, you could just be in Spain. I don't like Spain - because of this, the noise and you know, those British, the lager louts that you see... I would say that seventeens, eighteens up to about thirty five year olds, and I think that's the type of people that like to stay up until 4 o'clock and in the morning and make the noise and that's certainly not what we like. Now it's like any other resort. It's just like any other tourist resort.'

⁶ This participant was travelling with his wife and twenty-year old daughter. I was told that they were in the process of purchasing an apartment on the outskirts of the village.

⁷ This participant, who was holidaying with her sister and a female friend, had a good knowledge of the Greek language. Parts of our conversation were conducted in Modern Greek.

Throughout my fieldwork, repeat visitors often voiced their sentiments about the disappearance of the traditional culture of Kalimeria. Ideally, the Lord Byrons would like to preserve Kalimeria as a 'living museum', a community frozen in time. Opposing and disliking the arrival of the other types of tourists found in Kalimeria was a common sentiment of participants in this cluster.

ii) Greek Hospitality

However, while they perceive the place as 'inauthentic', they see their hosts as 'genuine', 'hospitable', 'friendly' and 'typically Greek'. The 'inauthenticity' of Kalimeria and the 'authenticity' of its hosts is articulated in the following participant's account.

'My heart sank, really to see that it has changed even more this year. The first day we went out for a walk with my husband, we notice more bars and shops....They are really spoiling it....They are not making it better. For me, they've ruined this place. I can only liken it to our English Blackpool now.....I don't know whether you could help with your research but could you please tell those responsible for this westernisation, that they must sit back and think about what they're doing. It's just vandalism. They're just allowing it to happen, probably wanting more money, but I think they're going the wrong way.....I think they're attracting a lot more younger people now and this is why the discos and bars and pubs have appeared.....No, Greeks haven't changed.....Often I'm invited to Greek people's houses and given vegetables and fruit. I feel they've got a generous nature, if they give you something they give it to you because they genuinely want to give it to you. I don't think they give it to you for any other reason.'

Observations such as, 'no, the people are not changed at all' but 'the place has changed, it's very westernised' were common amongst this tourist type. When I asked them, 'Why do you come back here, year after year?', their response was invariably along the lines of: 'to see our friends', 'for my Greek friends'. For example, a Lord Byron female tourist who has been visiting Chalkidiki since 1986 told me:

‘To see my friends...because I’ve got so many friends here, I feel that I want to come back here.....The reason why I keep coming back and I keep coming back to the same place is really I’d be sad if I didn’t see the people I care a lot about.’

This is repeated in the following passage from a recorded conversation I had with an elderly female participant.

‘I come back for my Greek friends .. and the place is lovely, although it has changed...Greeks are friends for life. I think, generally speaking, I think once you’ve got a Greek as a friend, he will be a long-term friend. Particularly all the Greeks that I know, that I’ve got to know over a period of several years...Yes that’s what it feels like.... They are friends for life..... I feel that you could turn up here 20 years later and they would give you a rapturous reception. I’m sure they would.’

This theme of ‘Greeks haven’t changed’ was common in my conversation with the Lord Byron type. Again, as a retired female participant, who has been visiting Kalimeria on her own for the last ten years, told me:

‘For me, they’ve ruined this area. And I don’t like that, I like the Greek way of life. So I’ve noticed a big difference in *tourism*, but *not in the people*, they have not changed. They are still very courteous, friendly and nice.’

When I asked her: ‘What do you mean, still friendly and nice?’, she replied:

‘I mean, I still find them hospitable, in that you’d even go in just to buy a stamp, in a little shop and I know they’d say ‘sit down’ and they would come out with a little glass of something and all I bought is one stamp.....That’s Greek hospitality. It’s not changed even though the tourists are here. It is the same friendliness and hospitality.’

During my fieldwork, I met several British couples who have been returning to the same place year after year. For them, although the place is ‘no longer a true Greek village’, and resembles a ‘disco inferno with its flashing lights’, Greeks are seen by them as ‘genuine’, ‘friendly’, ‘hospitable’, ‘nice and spontaneous’, ‘real friends’, ‘friends for life’, and most importantly for these participants ‘Greeks haven’t changed’.

Another Lord Byron told me:

'In my experience in this place, most of the people that I know are very hospitable and friendly....there was a lovely instance which I had and which I never forgot - there was a guy standing there with a bunch of grapes and beckoning, standing tall and just beckoning like that and I went over and he gave me these grapes...and I mean it was just a very nice experience.... This is what makes our holiday here. Meeting these lovely people.'

Again the spontaneity and hospitality is highlighted as important to the respondent. This quotation also shows that this tourist type can achieve an 'authentic' experience by interacting with local people even if it takes place in a contrived space. This observation supports Pearce and Moscardo's (1986) study, which suggests that meeting 'backstage' (e.g., genuine, spontaneous and hospitable) locals in a 'frontstage setting', e.g., a 'commercialised' and Westernised touristic place such as Kalimeria, can be experienced as authentic and meaningful by the foreign visitor.

iii) Going Native

While the information obtained from each participant varied considerably, in that each interview captures a unique story, nonetheless, it is generally the case that participants in this cluster are inclined to try and participate in the life of the host community. Consequently the Lord Byron is more likely than other tourist types to learn something about the Greek way of life, its customs and some of its traditions.

'I've realised how tolerant they've been with me in the past when I've actually cut across a lot of their old traditions. For example, there's a custom in this village of men and women who only walk along the street together or along the beach together - of having a relationship.....and I've noticed that the women would be walking together and the men would be walking behind maybe in a cluster and nobody is actually identified as being with anybody else - that it's the single people and people who are on their own and available. In the past, a number of times ... I'd noticed a guy that I know and I'd just walk over to him and walk down the street with him, but I realise now that I am actually cutting across a lot of the old customs and probably putting the man in an awkward position. But they have been very tolerant and understanding of the way that I have crossed some of the boundaries sometimes.'

Throughout my fieldwork, I encountered participants (both male and female) with a long history of repeat visits to Kalimeria, who stated that they had made an attempt to speak Modern Greek. 'Getting by in Greek', or conversing with their hosts, using a 'few Greek words', certainly facilitates encounters between these repeat visitors and their hosts. This is what a Lord Byron, who has been visiting Kalimeria for the last five years, told me.

'Yes, because I am learning the language, I am understanding more about the locals and their traditions, their valuesdefinitely I've learnt an awful lot about lots of things in Greece - about relationships, about their approach to life. The Greeks are quite laid back in their approach to life, and Greek time has a reputation for having a completely different dimension to English time, in as much as if you say 7 o'clock well it could be sevenish, it could be anything. It's a very easygoing sort of way here in Kalimeria.'

Statement such as these indicate that these participants wish to go native in Kalimeria.

Typical expressions of this are: 'I prefer doing things that are Greek'; 'I prefer eating out in Greek tavernas, where the locals go'; 'We enjoy local life and cuisine'. Lord Byrons often reported to me that, 'the novelty is to go away and do something that is typically Greek'⁸. Indeed, 'going native' is reflected in several of their activities, such as using public transport to visit other villages in the peninsula, shopping and buying 'Greek things', and intermingling with Greeks in the evening ritual stroll along the seafront. This represents 'the sacred' part of their role in this host community, which as explained in the previous chapter, denotes the parts that these participants wish to play, while on holiday in Kalimeria.

⁸ During fieldwork in 1993, I met a British female repeat visitor who told me in fluent Greek that she had changed her name to 'Photini', which in Greek means enlightenment. This tourist's attempt to completely embrace the 'other' was the only case of this kind that I encountered during this study. This case of role embracement illustrates how a tourist's enactment of a particular role can vary with the strength of a 'feeling state', as deduced from behaviour. Cases where a tourist perceives him/herself as a 'real Greek', warrant further investigation in order to ascertain, for example, how their exposure to the host culture influences their perception of their self-identity.

The case of the Lord Byron provides evidence to support the view that tourists can achieve what is for them an authentic experience in an environment which is seen by them as 'touristy' and 'commercialised', that is 'inauthentic' in MacCannell's sense of the term (see Pearce, *ibid.*).

b) The Cultural Heritage

i) Sightseeing and Exploring

As mentioned in the previous chapter, all participants in this category had some previous experience of Greece, from their holiday visits to places such as Tolos in the Peloponese, Athens, Crete, Santorini, Rhodes and Corfu. The majority told me that they were specifically interested in 'the very special sites of Greece', the 'classics' and 'archaeology', and that it was the promise of an experience of Greek village life that had drawn them to Chalkidiki. Their experiences of exploring the whole of the Chalkidiki region, and travelling as far as Meteora (monasteries located in the central part of Greece) was a frequent topic in my conversations with this tourist type.

The majority of participants (ten out of eighteen) told me that they enjoyed 'travelling around in buses to little places like Aghia Paraskevi'; 'travelling around independently because they were interested in the Greek culture'. This theme is illustrated in the following extract from a conversation I had with one Cultural Heritage type ⁹:

'.. Chalkidiki is very beautiful.....we've visited Petralona caves and Afitos..Most people we bumped into were locals or holidaying Greeks not tourists....yes they were extremely polite and friendly and hospitable.'

⁹ This male participant, who was holidaying with his wife and son, told me that this was his second visit to Greece. His first visit to Athens, which was mainly for business purposes, was in 1994.

Another participant, holidaying with her husband and two young boys, told me:

'we had a car for ten days and toured around the peninsula....we've visited Mount Athos, and a small village on top of a mountain - I can't remember the name,.... and Paliouri. Paliouri is a nice place with some really lovely beaches, with lots of old buildings that have a lot of character. We also went on an organised trip to Thessaloniki but that was a bit of a let down... didn't have enough time to visit the museum.....it was a waste of time and money.....we prefer to go to places on our own....Yes, we also spent some days by the sea relaxing.'

Similarly, this male participant (holidaying with his wife and young daughter) told me:

'Yes, we did travel around the peninsula and although some parts are touristy - e.g., Kalithea is very commercialised - you can go two or three miles away from the main coastal road - and find places which I can describe as the true Greek way of life....Aghia Paraskevi was very casual, friendly and very quiet - no discos.'

I was also told that 'it was like an adventure' exploring the surrounding area of Kassandra:

'We enjoy travelling around on our own. It's like an adventure, because we don't know exactly where we are going to go next. We have a rough idea and we like to visit other villages and ancient sights... and we *don't know the times of the buses* or how we are going to get there, or how we are going to get back to Kalimeria, we just have to work it out on our own and off we go. And I like it - my wife likes it - it's like an adventure.'

While the information I obtained varied considerably from informant to informant, a common theme in our conversations was that Chalkidiki is 'restricted as far as historical sites are concerned'. For example:

'..I've visited the prehistoric cave of Petralona, Meteora and Afitos. I also travelled around the southern tip of the peninsula on a motor-scooter..Chalkidiki is very picturesque... but apart from the sun and sea, that part of Chalkidiki is somewhat restricted as far as historical sites are concerned. However, that is compensated by numerous sea excursions especially to Mount Athos... '

Analysis indicates that participants in this cluster use Kalimeria as a base to explore Chalkidiki. They are not passive observers as has been asserted in previous work (e.g., Boorstin, *ibid.*; MaCannell, *ibid.*). Visiting other villages and historical monuments,

taking 'walks amongst the hills in the hinterland' and/or doing 'a lot of foot-slogging in the evenings around the back streets' to see the 'true way of life' seem to be the main holiday activities undertaken by them. As this retired male participant and his wife told me:

'we enjoy travelling around Chalkidiki....not just to see the sights but also to try and get a feel of the country and the culture.... No we're not here for watersports or whatever.... We've seen some of the ancient sights...and we're going on an organised trip to Meteora tomorrow,.... but some days we are just as happy sitting in a cafe, along the waterfront, listening to Greek music, and mixing with Greeks.....'

ii) Perceptions of Kalimeria

In comparing Kalimeria with other Greek communities which they had previously visited, participants told me that: 'this place is less touristy than Corfu'; 'I like the casualness of the place, the *general atmosphere of the whole place*, ...I can't describe it, it's just the whole thing combined *I just loved it.....what I also like here*, is the small accommodation'; 'the place is not swamped by big hotels and so you can see the Greek people, the true way of life and not an artificial way of life....'; 'tourists don't outnumber the Greeks in Kalimeria'; 'the old village is real Greek, it still has several old buildings'; 'Yes, it's typical Greek, it has lots of white buildings, tavernas, and a lazy way of life' ; 'yes, there is enough of traditional Greece to see here'; 'it isn't too touristy, the whole region is unspoilt, with lots of olive trees, ...bees for honey....Greek people are still living off the land' ; 'the old village is very Greek'; 'it's full of Greeks on holiday themselves'; 'very Greek-i-fed, not in contrived fashion, just real Greek'.

However, in constructing an authentic experience of this place, the Cultural Heritage type drew a clear geographical distinction. One respondent put it like this:

'the old village seems to be authentic - by the way the people are. It's just centuries apart or it seems like centuries apart - between the old and the new ... but the main part of the village is too new - with new villas, new apartments. Too many shops, it's commercialised. It's a typical holiday resort. There is a stark difference between the old and the new.'

Another Cultural Heritage (who has visited Greece twice in the last six years) described Kalimeria in the following terms:

'the resort is split in two - the new and the old. It's developing into a large holiday resort ...designed to accommodate many holidaymakers. The main part of the town is new and quite busy with lots of bars aimed at British, lots of arcades, too many souvenir shops, and lots of new apartments and hotels. But the old part is traditionally Greek - old buildings, good tavernas, and friendly people.'

For them, although the village is commercialised, and geared towards tourism, nonetheless, they perceive parts of it as: 'traditional', 'because 'it still retains many of the facets of a traditional Greek village'; or 'it preserves features, for instance old buildings, churches, tavernas of an authentic Greek village'. *I shall discuss this theme of the 'authenticity of the other' in the following chapter, but it should be noted here that both the Lord Byron and the Cultural Heritage type used terms such as 'modern', 'commercialised' and 'touristy' to describe Kalimeria. However, the Cultural Heritage type did use the terms 'real' and 'authentic' to describe some of the features of Kalimeria's material culture.*

iii) Greek Hospitality

Fieldwork also indicates that tourists in this category come into contact with locals and/or Greek holidaymakers. The majority of interactions with their hosts occur in restaurants, tavernas, cafes, shops, and on the beach. A common theme amongst the Cultural Heritage type was that in general they found Greeks 'friendly' and 'hospitable'.

'I find them extremely friendly and a little bit inquisitive. Yesterday,when we were in a cafe, two women stopped to talk to us. They wanted to know all about us... They

like to know everything about your business, how many children you've got, where you work,.....how much money you've got in the bank.....but in turn, they also tell you things about themselves..... I think they are friendly, open and honest. You could leave things - towels and your bag on the beach and you could go off around the shops and come back and they're still there. You would never be able to do that in England because it would have gone, definitely....on the beach, you don't have to worry about leaving your bag and money and your watch in it. I think you know, I would trust most Greek people, and certainly I wouldn't do that in England, leaving my bag on the beach, never ever.'

Similarly,

'All the Greeks we've met have been very friendly towards us. They are genuinely interested in you. They want to find things about you - where you come from and personal things too, such as your personal life in England. In England, the people are different. Here, you can talk to the Greeks for hours..... Oh yes, they make you feel welcome.'

The following is an extract from a conversation I had with a male participant ¹⁰ who was holidaying with his wife. It describes his encounter with Greek hospitality.

'this place has a great deal of character.....The food and service are *also good*..... We enjoy going to the tavernas and having a nice Greek meal - fish, or soublaki, mousaka and kleftico....and then we wander back to our hotel about eleven o'clock and go to bed.... Last night, we [he and his wife] had a three-course meal at this tavernaand we had a coffee and a Metaxa on the house. You wouldn't get that in England.....This is what we like best in this place.'

A small sample (four) of female participants told me that they had also experienced 'spontaneous' invitations to the homes of their hosts, where refreshments and occasionally sweets or fruits were offered.

'I was admiring somebody's flowers.... in a little garden and saying to her how beautiful they were, and we were invited in and given a drink and the lady picked some of these beautiful flowers - you know - and handed them to us.....it was very spontaneous... this wouldn't happen in England... can't imagine many people inviting you into their gardens, picking their best flowers and giving them away...yes that impressed me and the fact that we're able to converse in some sort of way...with facial expressions, eyes and gestures which I'm doing now, in front of the microphone.'

¹⁰ I was told that this was his second visit to Greece, his first visit was to Corfu three years previously.

Such encounters with Greek hospitality, as well as seeing places of cultural and historical interest in Chalkidiki, seems to form the basis of the 'sacred' part of the Cultural Heritage types Chalkidiki experience. It is worth noting here, that the case of the Cultural Heritage also demonstrates that tourists are not isolated from the host environment as has been previously asserted (e.g., MacCannell, 1976). This finding supports the view, that there is always room for deviation from the script of the 'institutionalised' tourists (Rojek, 1993). At the same time, the case of the Cultural Heritage type provides evidence that tourists can achieve a meaningful cultural experience through their interactions with their Greek hosts.

Although nearly half of these participants, described their hosts as hospitable and polite, terms such as 'noisy' 'argumentative' and 'completely different from the English' were also encountered. This is how one female Cultural Heritage described the Greeks in this village.

'In general I find them completely different from the English... The way they express their feelings; they're very expressive, very argumentative, especially the men. You see the men in the tavernas shouting at the top of their voice, arguing... English people are more reserved; they don't express themselves. They are completely different - you can tell the difference as soon as you step out of the plane at the airport. You know you're not at Gatwick airport - you know this is the Greek airport, oh yes you can tell the difference straight away. Greek people speak louder, they shout, they shout a lot. Also Greeks kiss each on the cheeks. English people don't do that when they see their friends. When you see your friends in England you just say 'Hi' and that's all, you don't kiss them on the cheek. If I do that, my friends would say 'oh gosh' she wants something, but in Greece it's different....'

One male visitor told me the following about his shopping experience in Kalimeria.

'Greek people in general are nice people, very hospitable and generally nice, pleasantMen are courteous, very polite, more so than the women. Women are rude. Particularly in shops. Yes, the supermarket on the corner, two women pushing me out of the way to get to the till first, the man behind the counter was embarrassed and he said to me - "this is how they are"- and they were both Greek women...The women are generally - there's always an exception - but they shout, they are noisy, they are rude. The disadvantage I have here is that I can't speak Greek and it seemed as

though they couldn't speak English.....I can only assume that, that's how they treated everybody.'

Similar accounts by Cultural Heritage suggest that they judge their hosts in terms of their own cultural standards. Greeks 'behaving in an discourteous way' or 'being rude' were reported to me, on several occasions. I was also told by them that 'queuing in an orderly way' is 'the correct way of behaving', a normative convention of the tourist's own society, used by them to judge the behaviour of their hosts.

Unlike the Lord Byrons, the Cultural Heritage types are more likely to experience 'culture shock' when things are not as they 'ought' to be. Lack of 'familiarity' with the Greek way of doing things, lead them to express their feelings of disapproval and irritations towards some of their hosts. On the other hand, Lord Byrons seem to be more tolerant of the behaviour of members of this community. Evidence shows that the repeat visitor is aware that 'pushing and shoving', rather than 'queuing like the British people', is a cultural trait of this community and is accepted for what it is - a 'different' way of behaving. Unlike the Lord Byrons, the Cultural Heritage type looks at the new environment and interpret it in terms of his/her own cultural standards.

This finding shows that, while the Cultural Heritage type is fascinated by the 'casual', 'relaxed' and 'laid-back' Greek village life, when the 'unfamiliar' or 'strange' is encountered, they may find it disturbing because they are unable to suspend their own cultural attitudes and standards. Their cultural understanding of their host community contrasts strongly with that of the Lord Byrons, who no longer perceive themselves as 'strangers', but as 'friends of this community'.

c) The Heliolatrous Type

i) Enjoying the Beach

As we saw in the previous chapter, the Heliolatrous type comprised the largest group of participants and was characterised as wanting a two-week sun, sea and sand holiday. This finding, however, was not very surprising. As mentioned in Chapter Five, the sun is a key 'selling point' for Greece as a holiday destination and is commonly used by travel operators to market their package holidays. Fieldwork shows that Kalimeria is perceived by many participants as the perfect seaside resort which 'guarantees' that they will obtain 'the ideal tanned body', a fashion ideal pursued by many Western Europeans. As Urry (1991:38), points out, 'beaches in Britain cannot guarantee the sun. Nor can they guarantee clean water, if one wishes to swim in the sea'. It is not, therefore, surprising that Kalimeria with its promise of an experience of a 'real' seaside with 'warm, beautiful and clean' waters, together with long hours of sunshine attracts many sunseekers.

'To have a relaxing holiday in the sun' was a common theme amongst this tourist type.

As one male participant who was holidaying with his wife and young son told me:

'We took a last minute holiday to Greece.....It really was a last minute decision....We didn't go away last year, we stayed at home and the weather was awful. It rained most of the time. So we've decided to have our holiday in the sun this year....It's very relaxing sitting on the beach, swimming and sunbathing.... We spent most of our day on the beach...No we haven't visited any other places in Chalkidiki. We've come for the sun and the beach.'

The 'sunshine is really the main reason for choosing this resort for our holiday' is a theme evident in the following recorded extract from a conversation I had with one female participant (her holiday companions included her partner and friends).

'I love the sun. Not knowing Greece, initially sunshine is what I came for. Nothing more. No I didn't bother to read anything about Greece..... I didn't know what it was like. I knew it was hot and I love the sun.....'

Throughout my fieldwork, the theme 'it is just a holiday in the sun' was commonly encountered in conversations with participants in this category. As another female participant who was holidaying with her husband expressed it:

'..We didn't have any expectations of the place, we just came very open-mindedly as to what we would find. It is just a holiday, and it is really no more than enjoying the sunshine, which we love very much..... we love the great heat and strong sunshine....the resort has everything we want - good beaches and beautiful weather...the food and service are also good - prices are reasonable.... Last night we had a three-course meal with Greek wine and paid less than £30. You wouldn't get that in England.'

Or again:

'It is an ideal resort for relaxing and switching off from work...It is nice, clean, tidy and very lovely - good beaches and the sea is very clean and beautiful....it's a great place, and lively with lots of shops and places to eat and drink....Yes, we've enjoyed Chalkidiki for its European feeling.'

Participants often reported to me that 'we enjoy the heat and the outdoors way of life' and, 'we spend the whole day, lazing on the beach, enjoying the sun, doing nothing..... it is absolutely heaven'; it's a very pleasant place for a holiday, especially for children....my children love it. They spend most of the time on the beach...about six hours, no, more than that'; 'we just enjoy sitting on the beach in the sun....both of us love the sun'.

While the beach is the focus of their main holiday activities, they also sample Kalimeria's culture and its 'holiday atmosphere'. For instance, going out to 'eat in different restaurants', going for 'drinks in bars', and 'walking along the seafront' are activities reported by these participants. Restaurants which offer a combination of Greek and

Western European dishes, and bars providing entertainment such as karaoke nights, were often frequented by this tourist type.

Participants in this category do not appear to seek an alternative life style. The analysis indicates that they choose Kalimeria primarily for its 'authentic' good weather. Enjoying the sun for a significant number of hours per day (see, also, Chapter Five) was frequently reported by them.

'We go to the beach about 11 am, sometimes laterwe spend the whole day - about six hours on the beach.... weather permitting. We have a snack and drinks and lots and lots of water. After a day on the beach, we go back to the apartment, have a shower and rest and then go out for walks, a meal and a drink.....the food is good, but the service can be a bit slow....Most of the restaurants we went in - the service was very slow. Once you were being served you were OK...'

Although, as a group, all these participants stated that they sought relaxation, generally enjoying Kalimeria's holiday atmosphere, and above all, 'lazing on the beach, and basking in the sun', there were differences in their attitudes towards excessive exposure to the sun's rays. The majority of the female participants (10/15) were willing to take health risks in their pursuit of an ideal sun-tanned body. 'Suntan makes you look healthy'; 'it makes you look more attractive'; 'you just feel more healthy and you look better with your tan' were common explanations given by female participants for their holiday behaviour. (See section 7.4 for a fuller discussion of this aspect of the Heliolatrous experience).

ii) Perceptions of Kalimeria

As a group, these participants often assessed the attractiveness of Kalimeria in terms of its physical qualities, holiday atmosphere and its modern facilities. This is how one male tourist described Kalimeria.

'The sea is beautiful, the beaches are clean... The holiday resort is very nice and modern with a variety of restaurants and bars. The food is excellent but the restaurant service is bad....I quite like the Greek wines, but I would still chose French as opposed to Greek....I would like to see more sports facilities in this resort.'

Similarly:

'It's a lovely resort....nice holiday atmosphere, with a variety of eating and drinking places. It has good shopping facilities.... nice Greek ceramics. Nice beach, beautiful sea, good weather.'

Other ways of expressing the same judgements included: 'it has plenty of restaurants and good facilities'; 'we like the cosmopolitan feel'; 'it's a lovely resort, our hotel is close to the beach'; 'it's very nice, modern and lively with lots of bars, cafes, ice cream parlours and restaurants to eat... it has good beaches and the sea is very clean and beautiful'; 'the sea is fabulous.....lovely weather'. The Heliolatrous' perceptions of Kalimeria indicate that they experience the village as representing the 'best of both worlds', combining the 'modern atmosphere' of a British seaside resort with 'beautiful Greek beaches' and 'lovely weather'.

The experiences of these participants are more likely to be confined to certain areas of Kalimeria, primarily the beach and the touristic zone found along the two-mile seafront. This area comprises Western-style, but open-air, dining and entertainment facilities such as pubs, bars, discos, restaurants, tavernas, arcades and boutiques. It is not, therefore, surprising, that when asked about their experiences of this resort, the Heliolatrous often talked to me about their experiences of these facilities and about the quality of the service experienced.

An interesting finding from fieldwork (in the summer of 1993) is that the majority of my Austrian participants spoke of their 'wonderful' or 'breathtaking' experience of seeing the 'real sea for the first time'. They also emphasised the cleanliness (or lack of it) of this touristic zone. In particular the state of the beach was a common topic in my conversations with them. For example: 'the beach is used like an ashtray'; 'the beach is dirty, needs cleaning'; 'beach should be cleaned more often'; 'total ban of vehicles in pedestrian areas'; 'the cars and mopeds along the beach annoy us'; 'motorboats should be taken away from the beach...petrol smell spoils it'.

These statements about the local infrastructure and services reflect these tourists' cultural values and support Schutz's (1971) argument that a stranger judges the new surroundings through their own cultural lenses or, to use Schutz's term, 'the habitual thinking as usual' ¹¹.

By comparison, British Heliolatrous often complained about prices and the standard of service. For example: 'the restaurant service is atrocious. You could sit for an hour and nobody would come to serve you'; '90% of the restaurants we went in the service was very poor'; 'if they can't cater for the amount of people, they've got here, they shouldn't have so many tables'; 'we would like to see more happy hours in bars and prices stated'; 'cheaper prices on food and booze'; 'we would like to see price lists outside restaurants'. Furthermore, statements such as: 'would like more clubs with entertainment'; 'more

¹¹ I have placed these Austrians in the Heliolatrous category, although as mentioned in Chapter Two, I encountered certain difficulties in my discussions with these participants. When asked about the reasons for coming to Chalkidiki, the majority of them told me that they came 'for the sea and the sun'. Most of the material reported here derives from conversations with two groups of ten Austrians.

entertainment', and 'more karaoke nights and swimming pools', indicate that what they want from this holiday is fun and a good time.

iii) Greek Hospitality

Fieldwork shows that the Heliolatours tourist type comes into contact with Greek holidaymakers or other fellow tourists. The majority of these encounters with Greeks occur on the beach, and in cafes ¹². Like the Cultural Heritage and the Lord Byron types, the Heliolatours described their hosts as 'friendly' and 'in general nice'. This is an interesting finding in that, even this type who is on a two week sun, sea and sand holiday and is not actively seeking out contact with members of the host community, is not isolated as has been previously asserted (e.g., Boorstin, 1964)

d) The Ravers

As a group, these participants (both males and females) stated that they sought to have 'a good time' and found excitement in Kalimeria's nightlife and in casual sex. The package holiday is seen by them as providing a licence 'to do as one pleases' in a place of anonymity and relative freedom from home. Statements such as: 'you can do everything you want to, you can be silly, you can go topless or bra-less, nobody bothers you'; 'you feel less restricted here, because you're away from home'; 'yes, you're free from constraints, because you're away from family'; 'you feel free to do whatever you want to, because not everyone knows each other'; 'there is no need to conform to expectations'; 'there're no restrictions in the resort'; 'no one controls what you do and

¹² Cosmopolitan places of entertainment such as bars are not only popular with foreign visitors, but also with Greeks. As we will see shortly, Shirley Valentines (and female Ravers) encounter their Greek Kamakis in these places.

what you should do'; 'no one criticises you for your behaviour'; 'in every respect you're free, no one knows us here and there is no pressure on us to conform.... above all there is no police', amply illustrate their motivation.

These participants view Kalimeria as a 'liminal zone', where 'strict social conventionsare relaxed under the exigencies of travel and of relative anonymity and freedom from community scrutiny' (Shields, 1992: 150). The evidence indicates that the anonymity and relative freedom from some forms of social constraints that these participants experience in Kalimeria, are conducive to the suspension of the rules of everyday life and in particular the rules applicable to sexual behaviour. It is clear that sex with a stranger is part of the collective fantasy of these young holidaymakers. This finding is congruent with that of other studies (e.g., Ryan and Robertson, 1997).

Ravers' experiences of this host community are primarily confined to the beach during the day and 'partying' and 'clubbing' at night. This is how one female Raver described her liminal experience in Kalimeria.

'The best thing I like after swimming and sunbathing is to clean-up, put on some cool clothes....Knowing I don't have to go to work, can stay out late, don't have to get up early, I can do what I want to do. It's really nice to stay out late...early hours in the morning...I go to the discos, night-clubs and bars, but I prefer a typical night-club which has a dance-floor...You go away to let your hair down, and to have a good time.'

In common with the Heliolatrous type, Ravers also enjoy long hours on the beach enjoying the sunshine. Unlike the Heliolatrous, Ravers' narratives indicate that they also see the beach as a site of voyeurism, a place where,

' People tend to look at each other and get feelings that you don't normally get back at home. Seeing topless beautiful women on the beach makes me feel more virile..... Yes, it makes me think of sex.'

And again:

'Also you know you are not restricted by wearing all these clothes. You go to the beach, you don't have to worry about clothes. I'm sure that the sun and the sea makes me feel more sexy. The sun gives me more energy. And when I see all these girls walking around half-naked it makes me feel so horny.'

His travelling companion (another male student) validated the point made by 'his mate' by reporting to me that 'a lot of people would come down just looking for people on the beach'. This particular 'expectation of pleasure', which depends on an anticipation of good things to come, is one of the primary motivational forces for Ravers. A common theme amongst many participants was that, 'sex in the sun makes the holiday'. Evidence indicates that these tourists are not in a 'quest of the authentic' in the 'other', but seek the erotic, that is a temporary sexual liaisons with strangers.

In addition to the beach, discos, bars, nightclubs and cafes provide them with the opportunities for initiating a sexual affair with another tourist. Conversations are initiated with questions such as, 'where do you come from', and are followed with explicit propositions such as 'would you like to go out with me', 'let's have fun', 'what are you doing tonight', or 'I'll give you a night you'll never forget'.

Female Ravers reported to me that they felt less restricted in such places and would themselves initiate a conversation with another tourist. They claimed to use such chat-up-lines as 'where are you from?' and 'let's have some fun tonight'. Sexual propositions such as 'look at what my mum has bought me' (indicating a packet of condoms to her potential sexual partner), 'I've got to use all of them up, before I go home', have also been observed and reported to me.

In those situations where verbal communication is impossible, the lingua franca of the body is used to send sexual signals. To borrow a phrase from Giddens (1992b: 77), 'a search for a fix' governs the sexual behaviour of both female and male Ravers. This is how another participant put it:

'You don't have to talk - I think the way somebody touches you and looks at you, means...you know, things might happen....Eye contact, a lot can be said from eye contact, you just have to look at somebody's eyes and you know exactly what.....Yes I enjoy sexual pleasures , touching and feeling and being close to somebody. It progresses as the evening goes on and you feel from the way they touch you, you know

Or, as this male Raver reported one experience:

'She spoke no English....but I was able to converse with her in some sort of way. I found it very easy.... Facial and body expressions, eyes and gestures... We understood each other very well in spite of the fact that we were speaking very different languages'.

'Sex makes the holiday' was a common theme amongst participants in this category of tourists. As a nineteen year-old female participant told me:

'Yes, this is one of the reasons of this holidays.....not the only reason.....It serves its purpose..... You can dream yourself about it, through the winter.....It makes the holidays..... No problem finding a man.....Greek men always volunteer for sex. When they are chatting you up, they would give you flowers and thingsNo I wouldn't do this at home, never, ever, ever. You have your reputation to think about.'

Respondents often referred to the ready availability of what one called 'one night bonks'. As another male reported:

'It's fairly easy to meet someone and have sex for one night.....It's partly the romantic atmosphere, the weather, the beaches and drinking definitely helps.'

Both male and female Ravers seek out sexual opportunities and were clearly willing to enter into transient sexual relationships, mainly with other fellow tourists. Moreover, my evidence suggests that Ravers are more likely to indulge in unprotected sex, particularly when they are under the influence of alcohol. When I asked about the

possibility of getting AIDS , I was told that: 'you don't think of AIDS when you are drunk.....' or, 'the brain doesn't work well after having lots of alcohol'. According to one of my key informants, who worked as a barman in a night-club, unprotected sex is not only associated with 'getting drunk', but also with taking a drug known as 'a love dove'.

'People call it a love dove because it makes you a lot more friendly. It produces a feeling of euphoria.... , makes you more confident to go and ask somebody to dance with you You dance a lot more.... and to ask somebody to have sex with you.... Most people bring their own stuff.....No one gets checked at the airport.'

During conversations with these tourists, nearly half of the male Ravers admitted to the use of drugs, such as cannabis, while on holiday in Kalimeria. Furthermore, one of my key informants told me that males aged between 17 and 25 years were also experimenting with 'Acid'.

'Some people did - some people tried LSD and wanted to do it again. A lot of the people - people who had taken LSD would normally sit out about 6am. in the morning on the beach watching the sunrise.the younger females that are English are taking Ecstasy and Speed, not so much Acid, but there was some of that going on, as well. ...Yeah, normally it is the younger males.'

This observation about the holiday behaviour of Ravers in Chalkidiki supports Ryan and Robertson's (1997) view that young people (under 25s) travelling abroad for their holidays experiment with drugs and take voluntary health risks in pursuits of thrills and pleasure.

A useful perspective on tourist' risk taking is provided by Goffman's (1967) notion of 'action space'. He uses the term 'action' to refer to the 'activities that are consequential, problematic and undertaken for what is felt to be their own sake' (ibid.: 185). In his analysis of the world of gambling in Las Vegas, he identifies casinos, and amusement

parks as prototypical 'action spaces'. Dedicated to pleasure, thrills and excitement, these spaces allow the individual to experience the adventures denied to them in everyday life. He goes on to argue that 'players' in a casino are in search of 'action' and take instantaneous risks, by putting their money in jeopardy, in order to get 'a piece of it'.

Goffman stresses the point that action in his sense of the term can also be found in other areas of life including track racing, where drivers experience a 'slight danger' to life, and taking drugs such as LSD, where the experimenter uses 'his mind as the equipment for action'. Furthermore, Goffman argues that action spaces such as discos, bars and holiday resorts provide the individual with the opportunity to experience 'fancy milling'. This refers to the relaxed and uninhibited participation with others in an action space with the consequent exposure of oneself to risks and uncertainties. He writes (*ibid.*: 197) that, 'the presence in a large tightly packed gathering of revelling persons can bring....the excitement...but also the uncertainty of not quite knowing what might happen next, the possibility of flirtations, which can lead to relationship formation'. Such spaces provide opportunities for 'sexual action', that is the initiation of a sexual affair with the 'unacquainted'. Moreover, the novelty of a new sexual partner is a thrill, especially if the stranger is 'of another race, colour or creed' (Balint, in Goffman, 1967: 197).

Goffman's overall argument is that in society there are 'special times and places' set aside for 'role reversals', for opening oneself up to risks in the pursuit of thrills and adventures. More importantly, the defining characteristics of all thrills are a 'mixture of fear, pleasure

and confident hope in the face of external danger.. the danger will pass, and that one will be able to return unharmed to safety' (ibid.: 196-7).

Goffman's theoretical perspective can be usefully applied to the Ravers' experience of Kalimeria. The voluntary risks taken by these participants can not be explained by the notion of 'liminality' alone. My evidence suggests, that the relative anonymity and freedom from community scrutiny that characterises a liminal touristic space are enhanced by fancy milling in action spaces. The case of the Raver demonstrates that these tourists are not only in search of 'sexual action' but are also willing to take risks in 'getting a piece of it', that is *they engage in unprotected sexual activities, often with multiple partners, without regard for the risk involved* (see, also, Wickens, 1997).

As one female key informant put it:

'....That would be the main place - the beach or maybe in the sea. There is a lot of midnight swimming.I think a lot of it happens on the beach - you can hear the voices. Some of them would take cameras down and take pictures. Especially a favourite one is of five or six people having sex maybe in the sea and totally naked and they would have their picture taken totally naked.'

Furthermore, according to the above informant, 'this sort of thing happens all around the Mediterranean, certainly the South of France and Spain....it's partly the sun and the sea and the holiday atmosphere'. Indulging in such hedonistic activities on the beach are 'becoming pretty much the norm'. My ethnographic evidence concerning these young tourists' holiday experiences is consistent with that of other studies (Conway, et al., 1994; Ryan, 1997).

The existing literature on this phenomenon suggests that it is primarily young, single people who seek sexual or romantic liaisons while on a holiday abroad. However, this study provides considerable evidence that unaccompanied middle-aged females may also seek out a holiday romance with a 'nice Greek guy'. The following section of this chapter focuses on the holiday experiences of those participants who have for analytical purposes been placed in the cluster of Shirley Valentines.

e) Shirley Valentines

i) Escaping Normality

Shirley Valentine narratives suggest that this tourist type perceive Kalimeria as: a 'low-key holiday resort'; 'a romantic place'; an 'easy-going place'; a place where 'there are no restrictions'; as a holiday resort where 'you can come and go as one pleases'. Further, for them, the village is structured to provide them with the opportunities to 'be completely relaxed' and to 'feel less constrained', 'to feel completely free'. Kalimeria is a place where 'there are no pressures, you can do whatever you want', where you are 'totally free to do what you want when you want, nobody bothers you', and to 'let down one's hair'. As one middle age respondent told me:

'You are here to please yourself..... Yes, I leave my dull everyday life behind. When I'm in England, I'm fitting into an appointed role of somebody's wife, somebody's secretary. Here, you can relax, and rub off some of the sharp corners. You are not restricted. Greeks are very tolerant of us..... I am less age-conscious here..... I come to Greece for a bit of fun.'

Shirley Valentines see themselves as leaving behind their everyday identities of 'somebody's wife', 'somebody's secretary', 'somebody's carer'. As another participant told me:

'In as far as I possibly can, I try to leave my tedious life behind at home.....especially if you chose to go on holiday on your own, nobody has any expectations, so you are free

to be exactly what you please, which means, I am far more relaxed, far less age-conscious. At home in England - you are very much part of what is expected of your particular age group.....Chalkidiki is a very relaxed holiday destination. It's far more laid-back and comfortable here.....you can wear pretty much whatever you like....you can go topless on the beach.....But I think it is well accepted all around the Mediterranean. It is the norm.....Yes, definitely, you are less inhibited to do anything you want to.'

Another participant expressed her feelings of 'being totally free' in the following way:

'It's a very easygoing place....I feel completely relaxed and free to do anything at anytime. I think because of the mild climate, the relaxed atmosphere, - no restrictions, you behave differently when you're on holiday. You can wear less clothes - can dress how you feel, go topless on the beach, swim naked in the moonlight and be fairly liberal and open. You can do what you want with your time, get up, go to bed and eat when you like, and where you like. I mean, there's no pressure.....I feel much more free to do what I want. Maybe it's because I'm on my own....'

ii) Romance

It is clear that for a Shirley Valentine type, escape from everyday life is an important need. However, escape is only one component of her motivation, the possibility of a romance with a 'charming' Greek man is equally important. Like the Raver, Shirley Valentines seek opportunities to live, albeit temporarily, without the inhibitions and restraints of their perceived mundane everyday life, and to enter into a game of 'metamorphosis' which frees their impulses and feelings. These middle-age female participants often dressed in clothes of a daring cut and thereby, to borrow a phrase from Baudrillard, they feel free to break the 'patterns of social regulation, which link lifestyles closely to age' (Baudrillard, in Featherstone, 1991).

A romantic liaison with a stranger was a common theme amongst these participants.

This is what one Shirley Valentine told me:

'Yes I was looking for a holiday romance.....One evening, I went over the road to eat and met a very nice Greek gentleman...He was tall, had dark curly hair, greying at the side and sharp features. He was very smart....He came up and asked me to dance....he spoke very good English and we got talking...he was very pleasant, not pushy....very

genuine...yes, I made a spot decision, I felt he was the right person....I certainly felt something for him....'

Getting involved with a 'Greek God' a 'phenomenally good-looking' and 'charming'

Greek man makes the holiday for this tourist type.

'He was absolutely charming and very good looking.... I find it very nice to think that I can still attract somebody who is in his early thirties. I met him in a bar and came over and said to me - has anybody ever told you that it takes two women of twenty to do what one woman of forty can do-....I think if you stop and analyse it and realise it that you are just a notch on somebody's bedhead, then, yes one would probably mind, but if you come out here with the intention of throwing caution to the wind, and having a good time, then, ultimately, it doesn't matter. You are not going to write to each other or arrange to meet again; it just doesn't really matter. I mean, if you've had a good time - or a bilingual orgasm - it doesn't really matter....Oh, sod that, what he [her husband] doesn't know can't possibly harm him.'

Or as another female participant expressed it:

'Yes, I am looking for some romance... This is my hidden motive..... My idea of a romantic evening is with someone who is really genuine....You don't have to talk.... I like to be touched. I love touching. I love my hair to be stroked. I enjoy sensual pleasures of touching and feeling and being close to somebody.....I respond to that very much so.....My feelings are affected by music.....So if you get the right music and you get me in the right mood, you never know.... I might.....'

Such encounters take place in a variety of places, although usually on the beach and occasionally in the water.

'And I was in the water on my own, and this young Greek man - he was absolutely fascinated at my boobs floating on the water - approached me... and we got talking..... Yes, he was charming and physically very good-looking....I don't know what age group he was, but I would say hovering around the late twenties, early thirties, that sort of age.....Yeah we had a wonderful time...No he didn't pester me, not at all. I think if I was eighteen I'd probably mind, but I found it very nice - I loved it - to think that a young man found me attractive at my age....I'm forty something.'

Unlike the Lord Byron, the Cultural Heritage or the Heliolatrous types, Shirley Valentines seek holiday romances and sexual adventure in an environment which is perceived by them as free from social constraints and domestic responsibilities. Like the Ravers, these middle-age female tourists' narratives suggest that by leaving behind their

inhibitions, they are willing to enter into a Shirley Valentine scenario. That is, into an 'action space' which is perceived by them as providing the opportunity 'to do as one pleases'. Statements such as: 'You can do whatever you like'; 'you can go topless'; 'you can do everything you want'; 'no need to conform to expectations'; 'no restrictions, in every respect, you can act differently'; 'free to do as you please'; 'no one knows you here'; 'Greece is a more open and tolerant society', illustrate this point.

When asked how they would describe their holiday experience, participants used such phrases as: 'it was like a fairy tale'; 'meeting Panos made this holiday memorable'; 'very romantic, wish I could stay longer'; 'I'll never forget Manolis, I had such a wonderful time'. A number of these participants reported that, 'I'm sure I am in love' and said that they would like to come back to Kalimeria, some time in the 'near future'. For them, 'the dream is to come back' and perhaps relive their holiday romance with the same 'Greek guy'.

7.4 Side Effects

i) Food and Drink

An initially unexpected finding of this study was that many visitors experience minor health problems. However, this is consistent with the findings of other studies (e.g., Bryant et al., 1991; Page et al., 1994; Clift and Grabowski, 1997) which show that many tourists experience health problems relating to food hygiene, water supply, or sanitation. Complaints such as diarrhoea and vomiting are said to be the most common health problem experienced by tourists abroad (Lundberg, 1985; Davies, 1988). Davies (ibid.: 91) for example, has reported that 'regardless of destination, the most frequent illness is

diarrhoea', with more than 40% of his sample of international tourists being affected by this condition.

Cossar, et al's (1990) more recent study shows that diarrhoea and/or vomiting were the most common health problems experienced by travellers returning to Scotland from abroad, including Greece. This report shows that of 1 194 travellers who had visited Greece, 36% reported some kind of travel-related illnesses. In addition, this study found that the illness rate varies in relation to the country visited, and the relative experience/inexperience of the traveller. Age was also a significant factor in travel related illnesses, with the 20-29 year age group being most affected by illness, and the over 60s group being least affected.

The findings from fieldwork in Kalimeria support the view that 'the reality of many holidays is that they are indeed characterised by minor complaints, usually associated with food, sun, drink' (Ryan, 1991: 39). The most commonly reported illness was diarrhoea or 'an upset stomach'. The following extract from a recorded interview illustrates this 'side-effect':

'...woke up in the middle of the night, with pains in my stomach, I begun to vomit violently.... The owner of the hotel where I am staying gave me a herbal drink. It worked, quickly, it settled my stomach. The following day I visited the doctor, to be told that it was a kind of food poisoning.... Despite this unpleasant experience, we had a good time here in Greece. We'll certainly come again.'

The above experience of 'food poisoning' was reported to me by an Austrian tourist who was a first time visitor to Chalkidiki. One risk factor is the drinking water in several resorts, including Kalimeria. One English female tourist told me:

'I was ill within the first week.... I had diarrhoea for three days. I assume it was the ice cubes in the drinks we had in the evening. They were made from tap water.....

Yes, I was given advice not to drink the water from the tap. But I didn't think that also meant not to take ice cubes in drinks. It hasn't spoilt my holiday.... I wasn't too ill. It was mainly inconvenience.... having to rush to the toilet and finding one. It hasn't stopped me going to the beach.'

ii) The Environment

Stings, frequently from mosquitoes, but also from jellyfish, can lead tourists to seek medical attention. An English tourist described her experience in Chalkidiki in the following terms:

'Katherine, my daughter was terribly, badly bitten by mosquitoes. And the odd thing was we both slept in the same room. The next morning she woke up and her face - she looked like she had measles.... I went to the chemist and got a cream..... and a little machine that you fumigate... and that was wonderful, because she was just eaten alive. She was really ill with it for over a week..... No, I didn't see the doctor.'

Motor bike accidents are not infrequent and are more likely to be experienced by males in the age range 18-30. My medical respondent told me that 'most of the time tourists suffer from minor cuts, requiring only a few stitches.....This is because tourists are not used to the Greek roads'.

Sunburn is another common health problem experienced by participants, particularly the Heliolators. This is what an English female tourist had to say about her first Greek experience.

'I wanted a quick tan, so the first two days, I stayed out in the sun too long. I thought I was going to be okay. Every hour I was applying more sun lotion all over my body, but I didn't stay under the shade long enough.....I got very badly sunburnt which led me to pass out on the beach. I was told I had a sunstroke. My foot was badly burned.....I could not expose it to the sun again, because it was stinging and very sore. A week later I visited the beach and took care to stay in the shade I was a bit upset that I couldn't get a better tan.'

Attempting to achieve a tan within the first few days of a holiday was more likely to be attempted by the first-time visitors to Greece. One female respondent told me:

‘I wanted a suntan desperately to show off when I go home. Suntan makes you look healthy and people know you’ve been abroad.... The first three days I was on the beach all day, from 9 until the sun went down. I only moved to have a drink, to eat, swim and to go to the toilet. I spent most of my time soaking the sun.....Yes I voluntarily took the risk, knowing I could get burnt if I was out in the sun too long..... Also the risks are not visible, because the sign that you’re burning does not come out until the evening. By then it’s too late.’

The fact that excessive exposure to the sun's rays is known to be highly dangerous, does not deter people from taking risks. This finding certainly supports Burns and Holden's (1995: 52) observation, that ‘the cult of the suntan’, which is based on a ‘passion for symbolic success’, appears to be a ‘phenomenon decreasing less quickly than one would imagine, given contemporary knowledge about melanoma’. My fieldwork supports the findings of other studies that while sun-worshippers are aware of the risk of excessive exposure to the sun, nonetheless they are willing to take health risks to achieve a tan (e.g., Ross and Sanches, 1990; Carter, 1997; Ryan, 1997).

It is the experience of the local doctor that British female tourists are most likely to suffer from sun exposure. As he told me:

‘Many tourists have not heeded the medical advice that careless exposure to the sun can make you ill....English female tourists aged between 18-25 are most at risk.... They do not seem to take sensible precautions. Each week, four out of five cases of sunburn and heat exhaustion are English women..... They are less self-disciplined... I advise them to stay away from the sun for a few days, but my advise is ignored....The result is that they come back to the medical centre for more treatment..... No one is free from risk, but those whose skin colour is very pale are more susceptible.’

iii) Sexually Transmitted Diseases

According to the same source, vaginal fungal infection was ‘common amongst young holiday makers’ and in particular those who engage in sexual activities with more than

one new partner whilst on a holiday. As discussed in the previous section, some tourists, particularly Ravers, but also to some extent the Shirley Valentines, often take voluntary risks, by 'bracketing out' the health dangers associated with promiscuous sexual behaviour. As Giddens (1991: 129) expresses it, 'what could 'go wrong' can be pushed to one side on the grounds that it is so unlikely that it can be put out of mind'.

The local pharmacist told me that cystitis was a common ailment experienced by young female tourists: 'very young girls often come asking for something to relieve the pain of cystitis'. According to the same source, young female tourists frequently purchase condoms from her. Moreover, most of my participants reported that they packed 'an adequate supply of condoms'. The paradox is that while they carry condoms with them, their use is ignored when they are under the influence of alcohol. Data from Kalimeria supports Conway, et al's (1990) argument that risk factors associated with sexual behaviour include getting drunk, and drug taking.

iv) Sexual Harassment

While this study shows that the Shirley Valentines type is seeking a holiday romance with a Greek, there is also some evidence that not all middle-aged female tourists are willing participants. As one unaccompanied middle-aged female told me.

'Greeks are very open... Greek men immediately made it obvious that the only thing they wanted was to take you to bed. It was always 'you take me back to your room and we have good sex'. I found some men a bit of a nuisance....'

Another told me:

I've met this smart gentleman in a Taverna one evening.....I was on my own and he automatically thought that I needed a man.....He thought I was strange not wanting to go to bed with him. He said 'you don't like sex'. I said yes, of course I do, but not

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with someone I've just met tonight..... I was looking for a friend, but I found that Greek men want raw sex.'

A 'pestering' experience is also illustrated in the following narrative :

'Most of the ones, and there were several pesterers, came next to me while I was sunbathing....I didn't find it in the street. It was basically, you know, when I was on the beach. But nobody ever approached me just in the street. It got worse as you went past building sites and that sort of thing.'

A similar experience of an unwanted encounter with a Greek pesterer is graphically described in the following extract from a conversation with a fifty-year-old participant who was holidaying on her own:

'I was on the beach, sitting on my own,....I soon seemed to attract men who wouldn't leave me alone. And one day I was just looking for a nice quiet beach and I had pulled up and sat on my scooter; - I had a scooter by the way so I go myself around on the scooter - just sort of looking at the beach, just wondering whether I should go, and a man came along. I didn't take a great deal of notice and this youngish chap he got out and said: 'I know you, don't I?.....I just turned my scooter around and went to the next beach and would you believe it Eugenia, his van was already there!'

When I asked these participants if they felt safe travelling on their own, they replied 'most of the time'. What is quite clear from the above is that unaccompanied female tourists are more likely to be chatted-up by Greek men. This was also a common theme amongst my female Lord Byron participants. As one of them reported:

'Yes, Greek men have chatted me up... and some men were more boisterous than others, but I've never had anything which was ungallant. Usually, I find if someone tries to chat you up and you shake heads with him, this is the best remedy in the world, and they immediately stop with you....But if someone is whistling, or catcalling, I just look down at the ground and walk by....'

It is worthy of note, that none of my younger female participants in the category of the Ravers have reported to me such unpleasant experiences with their Greek hosts. Moreover, throughout my fieldwork, I have encountered only one case of 'an attempted sexual assault'.

7.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have attempted to allow the tourists' voices to be heard. I have explored their experiences through their holiday narratives as recorded during my fieldwork. While participants use the facilities offered by the tourist industry, the majority of them reported that a package holiday was 'flexible' in the sense that 'everyone is free to please oneself' and to structure their holiday in terms of their own motivations and expectations. As a male participant (holidaying with his partner) told me:

'There're so many possibilities for tourists in this place.... I can see that it caters for all types - young people, couples, families,there's plenty to do and see...Oh yes, you can get what you want from your Greek holiday. We'll certainly visit this place again.'

Or as his female partner put it:

'The physical beauty of Greece, the colour of the sea, the sunset, the air, were more beautiful than I anticipated. I never imagined it to be like this. It far outstripped my expectations.....we'll definitely come here again.'

This study has revealed that different tourist types consume different stories and pursue a wide variety of holiday activities.

It is clear from the forgoing discussion, that the Lord Byron and the Cultural Heritage types are not passive observers going abroad merely to take pictures of the 'other', as has been asserted in previous studies of tourism (e.g., Redfoot, 1984; Urry, 1991). On the contrary, they are very likely to have a 'genuine' and 'spontaneous' encounter with their Greek hosts. On the other hand, the Heliolatrous type is concerned with the 'authentic' weather rather than with cultural authenticity. Ravers' and the Shirley Valentines' experiences are, on the whole, liminal and these types are more likely to experience the erotic rather than the authentic. For the majority of participants (Ravers,

Shirley Valentines and the Heliolatrous) the authenticity of the host community is incidental to their primary motivation.

It is equally clear that a two week holiday is perceived by the Ravers and Shirley Valentines as a 'modern rite of passage' (Shields, 1992). For them, it is an opportunity for an individual to achieve some distance and detachment from his/her normal world, and to 'do their own thing'. I shall discuss the themes of 'freedom' and 'authenticity' in the touristic experience in the following chapter.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Authenticity: The Eye of the Beholder

8.1 Introduction

As noted in the previous chapter, not all tourists are concerned with finding 'authenticity', in the sense that this term is usually deployed in the literature ¹. Some participants seek 'Greekness', others the 'real' sea and the 'real' beach, while some seek the freedom to indulge in liminal activities. In an attempt to connect these core findings to theoretical positions found in the existing literature, this chapter focuses the discussion on the notion of 'authenticity' as an explanatory factor in developing an understanding of the touristic experience.

A distinction is drawn between 'other-directed' and 'freedom-directed' authenticity. This new conceptualisation of 'authenticity' is tested against participants' own accounts of their experiences in Chalkidiki. It is argued that the 'other-directed' tourists (i.e., the Lord Byron, Cultural Heritage and Heliolatrous types) are concerned with the authenticity of the 'other', where this latter term is used to refer to both the physical and the cultural environment of Kalimeria. The 'freedom-directed' tourists (i.e., the Raver and Shirley Valentine types) are concerned with hedonism, short-lived thrills, the abandonment of restraint and the ethic of 'doing my own thing'.

¹ See, particularly, Brown (1996) and Selwyn (1996) on the theoretical issues relating to the term 'authenticity' in tourism studies. Selwyn (1996: 21) argues that the quest for authenticity in the 'other' and the quest for the 'authentic self' constitute a 'tension which informs' contemporary studies of tourism.

8.2 Defining Authenticity

In everyday language, authenticity is often used as an epithet to describe anything from drinks (e.g., Coke is the 'Real Thing') to places (e.g., the 'Real' Greece). Within the context of tourism studies, the term 'authenticity' is deployed in much the same way. While there is a substantial body of sociological literature within which the term 'authenticity' is used, many scholars operate with an underdeveloped definition of this term, while others have not recognised the need to define it at all (Selwyn, 1996). The consequent multivalency of the term 'authenticity' within the literature needs to be explored with a view to drawing distinctions which can be tested against the evidence recorded in Chapters Six and Seven.

a) Dictionary Definitions

The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary (1993) defines authenticity as 'the quality of being authentic'. The same source explains that the word 'authentic' is derived from the Greek term *authentikos*, meaning 'principal, genuine'. Authentic is said to mean:

'(1) of authority, authoritative; entitled to obedience or respect, (2) legally valid; legally qualified, (3) Entitled to belief as stating or according with fact; reliable, trustworthy, (4) Real, actual, genuine; original, first hand; really proceeding from its stated source.'

b) Social Science Usage

It is definition (4) which most accords with the general use of this term in the social studies of tourism ².

² According to Trilling (1972: 93), 'the provenance of the word authenticity' is in the museums, where curators and other experts examine the authenticity, i.e., the originality and genuineness, of primitive and other ethnic objects.

8.3 Freedom-Directed Authenticity

a) Existentialism ³

Jean-Paul Sartre once famously defined existentialism as 'existence before essence'. In this aphorism he summarised the essential nature of Sartrean philosophy, that is: 'a person (unlike a thing) has no predetermined essence but forms his or her essence by acts of pure will' ⁴. In developing this core idea he introduces the key Sartrean concepts of 'authenticity', 'freedom', 'choice' and 'bad faith'.

Sartre distinguishes between authentic and inauthentic forms of human existence. These differ in terms of the degree of self-awareness and commitment associated with particular choices (Kaufmann, 1956; Manser, 1966; Berger, 1963). For Sartre, authenticity:

'consists in having a lucid and truthful awareness of the situation, in bearing the responsibilities and risks which the situation demands, in taking it upon oneself with pride or humility, sometimes, with horror and hatred.'

(in Manser, 1966: 155)

To be authentic 'Man' must exercise his freedom.

'What I call freedom is thus impossible to distinguish from the being of 'human reality'. Man is not first a being and free afterwards; there is no difference between the being of man and his being free.'

(in Manser *ibid.*: 56)

As Manser (*ibid.*: 57) summarises it, 'for Sartre man not only is free but can become conscious of his freedom: it is by anguish that man becomes conscious of his freedom,

³ This apparent digression into a somewhat unfashionable philosophy may at first seem out of place in an empirically based and sociologically orientated study. However, I have found some of Sartre's ideas, particularly as refracted through Berger's (1963) writings, helpful in thinking through the concept of authenticity as I deploy it in this chapter.

⁴ *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (1993).

or, in other words, anguish is the manner of existence of freedom as consciousness of existing'.

Moreover, being free is to exercise 'choice' and entails accepting responsibility for the consequences of this choice. The only escape from being condemned to be free is through 'bad faith'. This term refers to forms of self-deception in which individuals seek to avoid personal responsibility for their actions by perceiving them not as what they chose to do, but as necessities generated by objective reality that constrains or dictates people's freedom of choice. 'Bad faith' expresses itself in many situations. Every person who says 'I have no choice' in referring to what his/her 'social role' demands of him/her is 'engaged in bad faith'. Thus 'bad faith':

'is to pretend something is necessary that in fact is voluntary. Bad faith is thus a flight from freedom, a dishonest evasion of the 'agony of choice'. Bad faith expresses itself in innumerable human situations from the most commonplace to the most catastrophic. The waiter shuffling through his appointed rounds in a cafe is in bad faith insofar as he pretends to himself that the waiter role constitutes his real existence, that, if only for the hours he is hired, he is the waiter. The woman who lets her body be seduced step by step while continuing to carry on an innocent conversation is in bad faith....It can easily be seen that bad faith covers society like a film of lies. The very possibility of bad faith, however, shows us the reality of freedom. Man can be in bad faith only because he is free and does not wish to face his freedom. Bad faith is the shadow of human liberty.'

(in Berger, 1963: 164).

For Sartre, existence is authentic to the extent that an individual has taken control of him/herself and accepts responsibility for his/her actions. An authentic existence is not determined by the prevailing public standards. Sartre argued that 'you are free, therefore choose... No rule of general morality can show you what you ought to do....' (in Kaufmann, 1956: 298). He suggests that individuals must decide who they are; to do anything less is to act in bad faith that is to deny their 'freedom' and humanity.

In this philosophy, 'freedom' means 'the autonomy of choice'. Freedom is defined as the 'escape from the given' (Sartre, 1966: 485). Sartre argues that an individual is free 'in relation to a state of things when it does not constrain' him/her (ibid.: 486). This 'empirical and practical concept of freedom' found in his work 'appears as an end which has been chosen' (ibid.: 481).

'to be free is to be free to change. Freedom implies therefore the existence of an environment to be changed: obstacles to be cleared, tools to be used.... To be free is to be free to do.... To do is precisely to change what has no need of something other than itself in order to exist.'

(ibid.: 507)

Thus, Sartre suggests that 'I am absolutely free and absolutely responsible for my situation. But I am never free except in situation' (ibid.: 509). From this existentialist perspective, the individual who shapes his/her own destiny, through free choices for which he/she accepts personal responsibility, lives an 'authentic existence'. However, it is also the case that, 'authentic existence can take place only within society.....One cannot be human, authentically or inauthentically, except in society' (Berger, ibid.: 171). As Berger explains 'only by stepping outside the taken for granted routines of society' is it possible for an individual to achieve distance and detachment from one's own world (ibid.: 157).

Of equal importance, in Sartre's writing 'the player, the man doing something for fun, finds himself, to be more real the more he escapes from the world, the more he uses his freedom' (Manser, 1966: 151). Play frees subjectivity, and what is more it:

'generally takes place in an area which is marked off, actually or conceptually, from that of everyday life, and this is why what is done during play does not have, or is not considered to have, effects outside its own sphere.'

(in Manser, ibid.: 151)

This schematic outline of Sartre's philosophy of freedom provides a useful starting point for reflecting on one dimension of the notion of authenticity as deployed in the social studies of tourism (e.g., Graburn, 1989a; Cohen and Taylor, 1992). I call this dimension, 'freedom-directed authenticity'.

b) Freedom-Directed Tourists

Statements such as: 'this is an easy going place..... I feel completely free to do anything'; 'here in Greece I feel free to be myself'; and, 'you are free to do as you please' seems to indicate that their authors are directed towards achieving, however temporarily, an authentic existence in Sartre's sense of the term. Hence, we can interpret the sacred part of their holiday experience as 'authentic' in that it is not experienced as being constrained by external societal controls.

For these tourists, the holiday is experienced as a liberation from the 'given', a time over which they have control to 'do my own thing'. Autonomy of choice, which is a key characteristic of freedom-directed authenticity, is more likely to be actively sought and experienced by the Ravers and Shirley Valentines. Their narratives suggest that they experience two types of freedom, freedom from normality/everyday life and freedom to do their own thing (see, also, Chapters Six and Seven). These are, in fact, the two sides of the same coin. This finding is in consistent with other studies (e.g., Lett, 1983; Shields, 1992). Ravers and Shirley Valentine tourists behave in ways that demonstrate their wish to become someone different while in the time and space capsule of their foreign holiday.

This conceptualisation of authenticity ⁵ allows us to deepen our understanding of the behaviour which Ravers and Shirley Valentines exhibit while on holiday in Chalkidiki. The ethnographic evidence shows that these participants perceive their two-week vacation as a licensed opportunity to explore 'freedom', by acting spontaneously and by suspending everyday norms. Participants who claim that, 'here in Greece, I feel free to be myself', are not concerned with the authenticity of the 'other' as has been asserted in previous studies. Ravers and Shirley Valentines seek to experience the erotic rather than the real (see Chapters Six and Seven) ⁶.

8.4 Other-Directed Authenticity

a) Authenticity as a Modern Value

As we saw in Chapters Three and Four, it has been argued by MacCannell et al., that we look for authenticity in the 'other' because everything about modern living is 'inauthentic'. Interest in the authentic 'other' is interpreted as a modern value whose emergence is linked to the presumed effects of modernity upon human existence (Berger, 1973; Trilling, 1972). The view that modern society is inauthentic and, as a consequence, generates cognitive 'alienation', or what Berger calls 'mental homelessness', was a sociological concern of the 1960s. However, as Selwyn (1996:3)

⁵ I do not regard the concept of 'authenticity' as given or 'fixed' in meaning. Employing Blumer's analytical technique of 'inspection', I have tried to refine and develop what he calls a 'sensitizing' concept in order to clarify its meaning. Such a concept 'gives the user a general sense of reference and guidance in approaching empirical instances.....sensitizing concepts suggest directions along which to look' (quoted in Hammersley, 1990: 159).

⁶ See also Riesman's (1970) work on 'modernity' and its impact on the individual. This theory draws a distinction between 'other-directedness' and 'tradition-directedness' and suggests that many people (Riesman's 'other-directed') in modern societies enjoy a high degree of privacy and anonymity and, consequently, feel free to express their individuality by trying on different selves, as they move from setting to setting. 'Other-directed' people (in contrast to the 'tradition-directed', i.e., those living in small and tightly knit communities) tend to develop fluid identities marked by constant changes in lifestyle and relationships. From this perspective, it is modern society which urges people to be 'true to themselves'.

argues, this thesis is 'simply dated and thus of limited explanatory use....in the post-modern world we now inhabit, such notions are no longer applicable'.

It is this notion of authenticity that informs MacCannell's thesis. As we saw in Chapter Three, he and other like-minded thinkers view the modern western world as inauthentic and alienating, and pre-modern and traditional societies as 'authentic'. What is asserted in their work is that tourists are concerned with the authenticity of the 'other' because it is absent in the occidental tourist's own society (e.g., MacCannell, 1976) ⁷.

b) Authenticity and Tradition

The word authentic has often been used 'to describe objects which are what they appear to be or are claimed to be' (Trilling, 1972: 93). This usage is widely accepted within the social sciences (Trilling, 1972; Duffer, 1983; Appadurai, 1986; Evans-Pritchard, 1987). Museum curators, as well as anthropologists, describe as authentic works of art produced by local people according to custom or tradition. Traditional objects that have been made without the use of modern machinery are regarded as 'authentic' (Skiadas, 1990; Moore, 1992). For instance, in Moore's ethnographic work, hand-made Greek embroidery and lace, as well as other cultural products made by local Greek craftsmen using traditional materials, are considered to be 'authentic'.

In this sense, the word authentic is used as if it were synonymous with traditional, that is, 'pre-modern'. Moreover, judgements about authenticity reflect a form of 'cultural

⁷ To try to answer the question why occidentals are so interested in the 'pre-modern' and why they place such a high value on the authenticity of the other is a formidable task which is beyond the aims of this thesis.

discrimination', where a distinction is made between the authenticity of traditional products and the inauthenticity of objects mass-produced for the market (Evans-Pritchard, 1987). The absence of 'commoditization' is seen as a major criterion in 'objective judgements' of the authenticity of traditional products (Trilling, 1972; Appadurai, 1986; Moore, 1992). However, Evans-Pritchard makes an important point concerning 'our criteria for authenticity'. As she expresses it, 'ultimately, the authenticity of a piece of 'traditional folk art' is an ascribed quality, which depends on who is looking at it, in what context, and for what purpose' (ibid.: 293). In her study of Indian art and crafts, Evans-Pritchard concluded that, 'consumer expectations of Indian art... reflect the conceptualizations of 'Indian-ness' that are often imposed on native art production' (1987: 99).

Likewise, Appadurai argues that, 'although it would seem that certain objective material attributes are involved in the definition of authenticity, authenticity cannot be explained by reference to them alone. It also involves subjective interpretations' (Appadurai, 1986: 220). In tracing the history of oriental carpets, he suggests that the judgements about the authenticity of an Oriental rug is a product of 'choice, negotiation and renegotiation over time, within our society, based on supply from theirs' (ibid.). In other words, we look for authenticity in the 'other' according to 'our cultural concepts', not theirs. However, the modern can only choose from what 'the other' provides. The other must therefore be preserved in its 'primitive' form. Moreover, Appadurai notes

that while we seek authenticity in 'their past' the natives (Turkemen) seek authenticity in 'our present' ⁸.

c) Staged Authenticity

As we saw in Chapters Three and Four, much of the literature on the touristic experience of the 'other' rests on the assumption that the modernization of travel, and the packaging of holidays, destroys the 'authenticity' of the traveller's experience. Package holiday experiences are seen as 'inauthentic' because tourists no longer see a living culture, that is, they do not experience the real life of the 'other'. From this perspective, tourism commodifies cultures:

'Culture is being packaged, priced and sold like building lots, rights of way, fast food, and room service, as the tourism industry inexorably extends its grasp. For the monied tourist, the tourism industry promises that the world is his/hers to use. All the 'natural resources', including cultural traditions, have their price, and if you have the money in hand, it is your right to see whatever you wish.... Treating culture as a natural resource or a commodity over which tourists have rights is not simply perverse, it is a violation of the people's cultural rights.'

Greenwood (1989: 136-7)

This argument rests on the assumption that the commoditization of the host's culture destroys its authenticity and therefore the meaning of the tourist's experience. This perspective is most evident in Greenwood's work (1989), which describes how a public ritual such as that of the Alarde in Fuenterrabia, was transformed into a pseudo or staged event to be consumed by the tourists. The view that commoditization destroys the authenticity of the local culture and that tourists do not experience the 'true' culture of the host community is also found in several other studies (e.g., Fees, 1996).

⁸ Likewise, Greeks are concerned with the authentic other, which is often imported from Western Societies (e.g., Levi's jeans, Scotch whisky). From this, it follows that authenticity is rooted simultaneously in both the past and in the present (Wickens, 1994).

d) Tourism as a Corrupting Influence

Some commentators have taken the position that tourism has a corrupting influence on the host community because of the commoditization of local traditions and customs (de Kadt, 1984; Crick, 1989). Perhaps, the most extreme example of this is to be found in a prayer recommended by the Greek Orthodox Church in the late 1970s ⁹.

'Lord Jesus Christ Son of God have mercy on the cities the islands and the villages of this Orthodox Fatherland, as well as the holy monasteries which are scourged by the worldly touristic wave. Grace us with a solution to this dramatic problem and protect our brethren who are sorely tried by the modernistic spirit of these contemporary western invaders.'

(quoted in Crick, 1989: 335)

In addition to the tourist's demand for staged cultural performances, we are told that tourists also demand souvenirs made by local craftsmen which serve 'as a marker of the tourist's experience there' (Duffer, 1983: 105). Mass produced 'airport art', i.e., souvenirs bought by tourists to take home are said to be fake, i.e., inauthentic (Schadler, 1984). According to the same source, tourists are cheated, because they are sold fake cultural objects.

A number of objections may be made to this type of analysis. First, there is some evidence that tourism has been 'the guardian' of tradition. The tourist's demand for cultural authenticity, by reawakening an interest in the host community's own culture, encourages the maintenance of traditions and customs (Aspelin, 1977; Andronicou, 1984; Boissevain and Serracino-Inglott, 1984; Boissevain, 1996). For instance, Andronicou, in his study of tourism in Cyprus, argues that it has created a demand for

⁹ This was a period that witnessed the advent of mass tourism in Greece. Concern with the loss of cultural identity due to mass tourism led to the formation of a Greek Heritage Society for the protection and preservation of Greek traditions (see, also, Boniface and Fowler, 1993).

traditional handicrafts and, as a result, traditional crafts such as pottery and weaving have been revitalised. He concluded that 'without tourism some of these would have become extinct' (Andronicou, 1984: 252).

e) Evolving Cultures

Cultural events and festivals that have become tourist attractions still retain their importance and authenticity within the host society (Crick, 1996; Boissevain, 1996). For instance, Boissevain suggests that 'while Malta is indeed now selling its colourful rituals to tourists, this commoditization is not destroying them. On the contrary, it has imbued them with new meanings' (ibid.: 116). Commoditization of public rituals enables tourists to experience the authentic and to 'share a sense of togetherness, to experience a feeling of solidarity and oneness that transcends their personas as foreigner or outsider (roles that most tourists seek to shed)' (Boissevain, ibid.: 114). Others have suggested that a cultural event that is inauthentic now, may become authentic later (Cohen, 1988a; Crick, 1996). Cultures are dynamic, changing over time. To pretend otherwise is akin to Sartre's bad-faith in that the authentic/traditional label treats a society if it is an object (a being-in-itself). The truly authentic society fully accepts itself as an amalgam of the old and the new.

This issue of the authenticity of touristic attractions such as cultural events is still very much contested amongst social thinkers. It is worth noting here, that in many of these studies, the major concern is with the impact of tourism on a host community, rather than with the experiences of tourists (Wickens, 1996). However, it might be argued that the judgement that tourism destroys the authenticity of the 'other' (i.e., its tradition and

culture) is often influenced by Western 'romanticism' of the 'primitive', a particularly invidious version of ethnocentrism (Robins, 1991; Crick, 1996).¹⁰ It is assumed that there was a 'true' culture and that the introduction of tourism has destroyed it. However, theorising the authenticity of the 'other', is certainly problematic. It requires a historical knowledge of the culture of the tourist destination. History, however, is open-ended since it is socially constructed (Clifford, 1986; Urry, 1991; Boniface and Fowler, 1993; Crick, 1996)¹¹. As Crick (ibid.) points out, cultures are neither static nor monolithic, but evolve and are constantly changing.

'Long before tourism, those cultures were changing, including in directions that reflected their own understandings of the nature of Western societies... all cultures are in the process of making themselves up all the time. In a general sense all culture is staged authenticity. That being so, if change is a permanent state, why should the changes be seen in such a negative light.'

(Crick, 1996: 40)

Several thinkers have suggested that the perception of a disappearing 'authenticity' of the 'other' involves an imaginative reconstruction. Cultures are invented and remade and hence tourism is based on the reinvention of tradition, i.e., it is based on 'myths'. (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992; Boniface and Fowler, 1993; Rojek, 1995; Gellner, 1996; Selwyn, 1996; Rojek and Urry, 1997; Ryan, 1997). Because the traditional culture of a host community is invented and reinvented, these thinkers suggest, it follows that the authenticity of the other is socially constructed and reconstructed through narratives. Giddens (1991: 37) makes a similar point:

'Tradition is not wholly static, because it has to be reinvented by each new generation as it takes over its cultural inheritance from those preceding it....To understand tradition, as distinct from other modes of organising action and experience, demands

¹⁰ Robins (ibid) points out that even the 'primitive and the tribal' participate in the global consumer culture (see, also, Clifford and Marcus, 1986).

¹¹ Urry points out that a 'yearning' for the past is now big business (e.g., the proliferation of heritage centres and museums). Hence, tourism can be seen as based on a modern representation of the past (see, also, Boniface and Fowler, 1993).

cutting into time - space in ways which are only possible with the invention of writing. Writing expands the level of time-space distanciation and creates a perspective of past, present, and future, in which the reflexive appropriation of knowledge can be set off from designated tradition.'

Since cultures are constantly evolving, they 'do not hold still for their portraits..... to make them do so always involve simplification and exclusion, selection of a temporal focus, ...and the imposition or negotiation of a power relationship' (Clifford and Marcus, 1986: 10). As the above writers point out, there are limits to the representation of the 'other'. Crick and like minded scholars have questioned the social scientists' authority for the authentication of cultural events, and for speaking for others who are perceived as unable to differentiate between the 'authentic' and 'inauthentic'. As he points out, the tourist voice is never heard, because in many studies, tourists are not the subjects of investigation. He suggests that the authenticity of the tourist experience should be judged through 'the tourist's own eyes' (ibid.). The following section aims to contribute to this debate, by testing the above theoretical propositions against the evidence from Chalkidiki.

f) Other-Directed Tourists

As noted in the previous chapter, certain tourist types expect to experience the culture of Kalimeria. Their narratives reveal that they are interested in the 'other', that is, in the history and culture of the whole region of Chalkidiki, including local food, Greek folk music, handicrafts, architecture and the Greek language. As a consequence, they come into close contact with local people. This evidence contrasts with the prevailing view that the packaging of holidays destroys the 'authenticity' of the traveller's experience (e.g., Boorstin, 1964; Greenwood, 1989). Lord Byron and Cultural Heritage types feel

that they experience 'the real' life of 'others'. Although these participants share the analysts' judgement that tourism commodifies some aspects of the culture of the visited host community, they do not see this 'commercialisation' as destroying the meaning of their Greek holiday. Furthermore, although the traditional Greek evening entertainment is transformed into a 'pseudo event', participants are aware that their hosts stage this event, for the tourist benefit. The inauthentic Taverna evening is recognised by the tourist for what it is, but this does not necessarily mean that the whole of their holiday is experienced as inauthentic in MacCannell's sense of the term.

Furthermore, this study shows that the Lord Byron and Cultural Heritage see a cultural event that is frequented by Greeks as 'authentic'. It is judged not to be 'the stuff put on for tourists'. It would seem that ascription of authenticity to a cultural event such as the Taverna evening reflects the tourist's conceptualization of Greekness that, in turn, depends on context. In this way Taverna A was inauthentic and Taverna E was authentic.

This finding illustrates the definitional problems associated with the application of an unarticulated notion of authenticity to cultural events such as the Taverna evening. It is also clear that the authenticity of a cultural event does not seem to depend on 'tradition', as has been claimed in previous work, but on the prior expectations of the key participants. This is demonstrated further in the following section, which examines tourists' perceptions of Kalimeria and its people ¹².

¹² It is worth noting that many cultural events, such as the Aghia Panaghia festival that takes place on August 15, retain their importance for Greeks. For them it is a 'real' cultural event, i.e., authentic, despite the fact that it has changed even during the five years of my fieldwork. For instance, on my last visit, I noted that the organisers no longer handed out the customary spanakopita and red wine to 'pilgrims' (and tourists) at the end of the church service.

8.5 Cultural Hybridisation

As we saw in Chapter Three, there are several studies that make the important point that tourist destinations are not static or frozen but constantly changing. Social change is complex and the changes that are attributed to tourism may also take place in response to other forces of modernisation, including globalisation. As Robins (1991) points out, there is 'something very suspect and problematical about this western idealization of 'primitiveness' and 'purity', this romance of the Other..... it does pose important questions about the nature of [western] cultural identity and about its relation to 'Otherness' (Robins, *ibid.*: 32).

As Robins explains, as a result of globalisation, boundaries 'are crossed ; cultures are mingled; identities become blurred' (*ibid.*: 43), and hence cultures become hybridized. This 'cultural hybridity' of a host community is one of the consequences of the 'logic of globalisation' (*ibid.*: 25). However, he (*ibid.*: 35) also points out that:

'Whilst globalisation may be the prevailing force of our times, this does not mean that localism is without significance.....The particularity of place and culture can never be done away with, can never be absolutely transcended.....It is important to see the local as a relational, and relative, concept.'

Thus, while he recognises that cultural hybridization takes place, he also points out that there are still cultural differences between the western world and tourist destinations. This is an important perspective on what I have called the other-directed authenticity of a visited host community. This refers to the contemporary character of a host-community that is rooted in both the past and the present.

a) Two Components of Other-Directed Authenticity

So far I have explored other-directed authenticity in terms of the tourist's orientation towards the host community as a static, 'pre-modern', traditional culture. However, this is only one component of other-directed authenticity. While this static conception of culture is based on a romanticised view of the host community, it cannot be ignored in that there is evidence that the search for this type of authenticity is a motivational factor for some types of tourists (e.g., the Lord Byrons, see Chapter Seven).

There is, however, a second component of other-directed authenticity. This relates to the contemporary character of a host community, to the '*particularity of a place and its culture*' (Robins, *ibid.*). This conceptualisation recognises that the authenticity of the 'other' is not fixed in time but rather bound up in an ongoing process of cultural invention (Giddens, 1991). This facet of other-directed authenticity describes the host community's own contemporary 'persona', that is, its collective self, its contemporary character, in short, the 'spirit' of a place. This is of importance to our understanding of tourists' experiences of Kalimeria.

b) The Authenticity of Kalimeria

As we saw in the previous chapter, the Lord Byrons described Kalimeria as 'commercialised', i.e., 'inauthentic'. However, when they were making this judgement, they were referring to particular aspects of their host culture. The ascription of inauthenticity is based on a particular judgement about what has been called the process of 'McDonaldisation', or what I call the 'staging of modernity', a process which began before the arrival of international tourism (Wickens, 1996). The Lord Byrons'

conceptualisation of 'Greekness' is grounded in their 'golden' memories of previous visits to this host community.

The commoditisation of Kalimeria was also a common theme for the Cultural Heritage types. Although the village is 'Westernised', 'modern', 'commercialised' and 'geared towards tourism', nevertheless, this tourist type perceives parts of it as 'traditional', because it still retains many of what they consider to be facets of a traditional village (such as several old churches and tavernas). When making comparisons with other Greek holiday resorts, several of these participants told me that Kalimeria 'isn't too touristy'; 'it is unspoiled'; 'very Greek-i-fied'; 'just real Greek'.

This evidence suggests that the authenticity of the other involves subjective interpretations. Although it depends on who is looking at it, as well as on the tourist's expectations of the host community, the apparent absence of commoditisation is one of the criteria applied by a tourist when judging the authenticity of Kalimeria.

The case of the Heliolatrous tourists highlights even further the complexities of the notion of the authenticity of the other. As noted in the previous chapter, these tourists seek the 'real sea' and the 'real beach'. Their perceptions of this resort indicate that they perceive Kalimeria as representing the best of both worlds, combining the modern atmosphere of a British seaside resort with guaranteed sunshine, a beautiful Greek beach and a clear blue sea just as the adverts promise. Participants' narratives indicate that they are concerned with the authentic environment, rather than with cultural authenticity. The sunny weather is, for them, a symbol of Greekness. Authenticity here

receives its meaning from the physical rather than the cultural attributes of the host community¹³.

c) The Authenticity of the Hosts

As we saw in Chapter Three, MaCannell and those analysts who employ a similar approach, have only considered the place-related experiences of tourists. The 'authenticity of hosts' has been left unexamined by them. However, Pearce and Moscardo (1986) have drawn a useful distinction between the authenticity of a place and the authenticity of the hosts. This is an important distinction since it draws our attention to the encounters of tourists with hosts, which is an important experience for the Lord Byron and Cultural Heritage types.

Indeed, as we have seen, the Lord Byrons perceive their hosts as genuine and the place as inauthentic. This finding seems to support the argument put forward by Pearce and Moscardo that meeting 'backstage', that is 'genuine', locals in a 'frontstage' setting (i.e., an artificial touristic space) can be experienced as authentic by tourists. Indeed, the Lord Byron case support the proposition that:

'tourists can achieve an authentic experience or insight into the lives of others through relationships with people within tourist settings. That is, authentic experiences can be achieved through the visited environment, contact with the people within the environment or through a joint interaction of these two elements.'

(ibid.: 470)

¹³ In this study, the word 'other' is used to describe both the cultural and physical attractions of Kalimeria. This allows us to include the Heliolatrous type within the broad category of 'other-directed' tourists and so to gain further insights into their motivation.

A common theme amongst the Lord Byron participants was that 'seeing our Greek friends makes the holiday'. This finding certainly challenges previous arguments concerning the inauthenticity of tourists' experiences. The case of the Lord Byrons shows that, although they choose to return to a place which in their eyes is to some extent physically and culturally inauthentic, some tourists can have an authentic experience by interacting with the local people.

d) Advertising Narratives

The search for authenticity is not only perceived by tourism researchers and the travel industry to be a prime motive of tourists, but it is also recognised by the Greek authorities. Authenticity has been used by the latter as a marketing tool. As one recent advertising narrative has it:

'Greece has always been the favourite destination for those who seek authenticity. That's because, for centuries here in Greece, the culture, traditional hospitality and warm welcome have remained pure and genuine. All your family will enjoy the long days, sandy beaches, the clean calm seas and endless activities... Greece: The Authentic Choice.'

(EOT, 1997: 31)

Other advertising narratives 'invite the reader to select an "unspoiled Greek island" ' (Kenna, 1993: 78). The theme of 'Escape to the Greece of the Greeks' is also common in newspaper advertisements (e.g., the Weekend Guardian, April, 1997).

In addition, authenticity has been used to describe a landscape that is virgin, beaches that are natural.

'The Gods could have made their beaches anywhere. They chose the coastline of Greece'.

(in Boniface and Fowler, 1993: 8)

These advertisements show that tourists are sold images of places in Greece as being 'unspoiled', 'natural', 'old', 'traditional', 'undiscovered', 'simple' and above all authentic. However, tourists are also sold images of Greece as an area governed by the 'Four S's' - sun, sea, sand and sex.

'The magic that is Greece,... Naked hills and naked girls.... sunshine's free of charge...Simplicity? Miracle? Offering of the gods? Yes, but Zeus is like that...Come on then, why delay, come to our land. Come and place yourself at the service of magic. At the essence of Beauty' (EOT, 1988). Or again: 'Greece voted the most erotic place in the world..... In the untainted landmarks of Greece eroticism is present in its purest form' (EOT, 1997).

There are several studies which show that an increasing number of foreign visitors to Greece, including Chalkidiki, are attracted by its sunny beaches rather than by its historic monuments, and heritage (cf. Leontidou, 1991; Komilis, 1994). However, the evidence from Chalkidiki shows that although many foreign visitors are primarily concerned with the 'authentic' Greek sunny weather, the clear sea and 'having a good time', there is also evidence which shows that other tourists are interested in the cultural authenticity of this sunny resort. Hence, this study shows that tourists are characterised by a highly diversified pattern of interests and activities.

8.6 Conclusion

This chapter has presented a more fully articulated notion of authenticity, which is based on a distinction between 'other-directed' and 'freedom-directed' authenticity. This conceptualisation has been used to gain a deeper understanding of the varieties of touristic experiences in Chalkidiki. It has been shown that 'other-directed' tourists (i.e., Lord Byrons, Cultural Heritage and Heliolatrous types) are concerned with the 'authenticity' of the 'other'. However, the 'other' encompasses both the physical (e.g., sea and sun) and the cultural environment of Kalimeria. The ethnographic evidence indicates that the Lord Byron and the Cultural Heritage tourists are more likely to experience the authentic other - genuine and spontaneous contact with their hosts. To this extent, my findings are congruent with the view that modern mass tourists may still achieve an authentic experience by interacting with local people (e.g., Pearce and Moscardo, 1986). Although not concerned with the authenticity of the host community, the narratives of the Heliolatrous show that they appreciate the real beach, the real sea and the authentic good weather as promised in advertising narratives.

On the other hand, the 'freedom-directed' tourists are concerned with the abandonment of restraint and the ethic of 'doing my own thing'. I have argued that this dimension of authenticity is central to an understanding of the experiences of the Raver and Shirley Valentine types. As Giddens (1991: 79) argues :

'To be able to act authentically is more than just acting in terms of a self-knowledge that is as valid and full as possible; it means also disentangling - the true from the false self... To be true to oneself means finding oneself, but since this is an active process of self-construction it has to be informed by overall goals - those of becoming free from dependencies and achieving fulfillment.'

This is certainly the case with the freedom-directed tourists, in that the holiday is experienced as a liberation from the 'given', a time over which they feel that they have control to do their own thing.

CHAPTER NINE

Conclusion

The starting point in the introductory chapter was that the 'tourist' is a polymorphous consumer and, hence, that different types of tourists consume different modes of experience. This ethnography reflects the influence of those studies which stress the important point that investigating tourism as a social phenomenon necessitates an examination of what visitors say about their encounters with the visited host community. As a consequence, this study has developed a rich understanding of tourists' experiences by allowing their 'voices' to be heard.

However, the development of such an understanding is only possible from within a tradition which stresses the point that in ethnography, the process of learning is 'dialectical and not linear' (Agar, 1980: 9). This study involved an iterative process of data collection in the field, followed by an attempt 'to make sense out of it'. The insights gained from one phase of data collection and analysis shaped the process of data collection in the next phase. This process of developing and refining an understanding of the phenomenon under investigation was also guided by theoretical ideas and concepts found in existing studies of tourism. In this way, both the deductive and inductive approaches were used.

Researching the nature of peoples' experiences in Kalimeria has not been a straightforward task. Methodological issues and problems encountered in the course of doing fieldwork were discussed in chapter two. Throughout this chapter I have stressed

the complexity of the phenomenon under investigation, and suggested that the validity¹ of this study's findings is 'diachronic' in that fieldwork was undertaken over several consecutive years. Towards the end of the second chapter, a number of issues crucial to the construction of this ethnography have been considered. The point is stressed that it is the product of the many people who have collaborated with me in this investigation. The conclusion is drawn that it is vital to recognise the problems associated with the construction of our 'knowledge of others'. As Dant (1991: 54) has expressed it:

'All knowledge is relational to the social and historical context in which it is generated and used. The methods with which the relation between knowledge and social groups shall be studied are necessarily interpretative because there are no objective, epistemological criteria which can arbitrate trans-historically on the nature of truth.'

By its very nature, all research is socially constructed because it rests on the researcher's understanding of the phenomenon. Therefore, our textual representations of 'others' should be regarded as 'valid in principle or until further notice' (Giddens, 1992: 49).

The third chapter began by reviewing existing theoretical models, and ended by suggesting a pluralistic approach which takes into consideration tourists' perspectives on their Chalkidiki encounters. Throughout this chapter, I have drawn attention to the limitations of these approaches and assessed the various conceptualisations of the 'tourist' on which they are based. A major focus of this chapter is the ongoing debate about the usefulness of such explanatory notions as 'artificiality', 'insulation', 'commodification' and 'liminality'. In addition, I examined critically a number of empirical studies which are pertinent to our understanding of the factors that motivate people to leave their home environment.

¹ Although some researchers of a qualitative orientation prefer to talk of the credibility rather the validity of their findings, my own preference is for the latter term. For a discussion of the diverse views on qualitative research see Hammersley (1990).

Several significant objections to the dominant theoretical approaches were raised in this chapter, and these are reiterated throughout this thesis. I have argued that many critics of tourism have put forward over-simplistic arguments regarding tourists' cultural experiences. For many analysts, it is obvious that people go abroad to take 'just a picture'. These analyses are superficial in that they present foreign travellers as herd-like observers who enjoy superficial experiences in purpose-built touristic 'ghettos'. The contribution of such writers to our understanding of tourism boils down to the assertion that people thrive on a diet of superficial, standardised, cultural events which do not represent the 'real thing'. This perspective is commonplace amongst those thinkers who bemoan the growth of tourism and who prefer to use secondary sources, such as travel books and brochures, as their main source of information on this phenomenon.

For others, tourists want authentic experiences and not pseudo events. It is the authenticity of the 'other' and the 'alienation' in the tourists' home environment which are seen as the 'pull' and the 'push' factors that motivate people to travel. Such analyses present the tourist as a serious traveller in search of authenticity in other places.

MacCannell's theoretical approach represents an early and very influential attempt to create a comprehensive explanatory framework. Its widespread use testifies to its acceptance in the sociology of tourism. Most work to date employing a similar approach asserts that everything about the touristic experience is 'artifice', merely fabrication with no authenticity. Recent studies in the same genre maintain that the well-informed tourist is aware that there is nothing 'authentic' in the purpose-built touristic

environments they visit, and that what the post-modern tourist wants is to have a 'good time'.

I have argued that tourism as an experience of a visited place is not a transparent or self-evident phenomenon. The sociologist's role is not to make value judgements about the phenomenon under study, nor to erect a comprehensive theoretical structure derived from a study of a single cultural event such as local entertainment. In this study I take the view that if tourists define their cultural encounters as real, and meaningful, then these 'first-order' interpretations should be regarded as such, and not dismissed as inauthentic (Schutz, 1976).

The theme that tourists want a playful liminal holiday experience is found in empirical studies which have adopted a version of Turner's theoretical perspective. However, even here, the touristic experience of a visited host community is seen as homogeneous. The contribution of these studies to our knowledge of tourism is that they draw our attention to people's holiday activities, rather than to the producers of touristic events. They also show that tourists are neither serious travellers as MacCannell and like minded thinkers assert, nor passive observers who go abroad to take a picture.

Evidence from Chalkidiki challenges both of these two, diametrically opposed, images of the modern tourist which currently dominate the sociological discourse. This study shows that tourists are characterised by a highly diversified pattern of interests and activities.

Chapter Four reviewed the work of those analysts who stress the importance of a tourist typology grounded on empirical evidence, as a useful analytical tool for understanding and explaining the varieties of tourists' experiences. It began by examining the strengths and weaknesses of existing tourist classifications and ended with a recognition of the value of this methodological technique for enhancing our understanding of tourism. While this study recognises the contributions made by Cohen and like minded thinkers, I have argued that the tourist as a unitary type still continues to linger in their work. The spotlight of this chapter was on Cohen's work on tourist roles and the body of literature influenced by him. Indeed, Cohen's conceptual framework guided this research project and was particularly useful in its early stages.

Chapter five provided an introduction to the research setting. This background data is used to develop an understanding the context in which participants' holiday activities and cultural encounters take place. The second part of the chapter provides a profile of the foreign visitors to Kalimeria as revealed by a questionnaire based survey. This profile lends support to Urry's view, that a foreign holiday is readily accessible to people, irrespective of age, gender, class or nationality. In addition, an analysis is given of the responses to those questions which elicited qualitative information of relevance to the ethnographic work.

Chapter Six presents the study's five new tourist types - the Cultural Heritage, the Raver, the Shirley Valentines, the Heliolatrous, and the Lord Byron. Each of these analytical categories 'brackets off' a set of respondents who exhibit similarities in their 'attachment' to a particular role. Goffman's concepts of 'role commitment', 'role

attachment' and 'role embracement' have been used as tools in the development of a theoretical understanding of these categories. Attention is also drawn to the point that, despite its limitations, this classification has been successfully applied to a study of, respectively, tourist health and ethnicity.

People on an organised package holiday to Chalkidiki commit themselves into Cohen's 'institutionalised' tourist role. An understanding of this commitment is developed in terms of three 'feeling states' which emerge strongly from the ethnographic data. These states, or motivational forces, are: familiarity, ontological security and flight from everyday life.

In addition, I have argued that, despite an individual's commitment to play the part assigned to them by the tourist industry, an individual also has a choice to step outside the individual mass tourist role, and 'attach' himself/herself to one of the above types, i.e., to be a Cultural Heritage, Raver, Shirley Valentine, Heliolatrous or Lord Byron type. Employing Goffman's theoretical model, it is suggested that an individual's role attachment reflects his/her inclination to play an additional part during his/her vacation in Chalkidiki. The important point made in this chapter is that, while a slice of a participant's experience is structured by the tourist industry, the individual has the choice to 'stay in role' (e.g., the institutionalised role) or to 'go out of role' and enter into one of the five scenarios observed in this tourist setting and which are captured in my five-fold typology. This approach has proved extremely productive in making sense of tourists' experiences and motivations. Following Goffman's lead, this chapter has also stressed that meanings are actively created by individual tourists during the process of

participating in a variety of holiday activities. Meanings arise as part of the process of being there, and interacting with both the living and non living parts of Kalimeria.

In Chapter Seven respondents' experiences, as expressed in their holiday narratives recorded during my fieldwork, are explored. The majority of participants stated that a package holiday was 'flexible' in the sense that an individual was free to structure his/her holiday in terms of his/her own interests. The analysis shows that different tourist types consume different stories and pursue a variety of holiday activities. Not all tourists are insulated from the 'real' Kalimeria, as the case of the Lord Byron and the Cultural Heritage types demonstrates. These tourist types are more likely to have a genuine and spontaneous encounter with their Greek hosts. On the other hand, the Ravers and the Shirley Valentines' are more likely to experience the erotic rather than the authentic. And the Heliolatrous type is concerned with the authentic Greek weather, rather than with cultural authenticity. The evidence shows that, for the majority of participants (Ravers, Shirley Valentines and the Heliolatrous), the authenticity of the host community is incidental to their primary motivation. It is also noted that many holidaymakers experience minor health problems. Of particular interest here, is the risk taking of the Raver type. This behaviour type is explicated in terms of Goffman's notion of 'fancy milling' in an 'action space'.

The concept of authenticity and its usefulness in the analysis of tourism as a social phenomenon was the theme of chapter eight. Throughout this thesis it has been stressed that the concept of 'authenticity' dominates the theoretical discourse. However, its explanatory value is a topic of academic controversy. In exploring this concept, I have

suggested that judging something to be authentic or inauthentic involves the application of certain criteria, and hence that any interpretation of an event or object as authentic is, by its very nature, selective and incomplete. It is argued that 'authenticity' is best seen as a dynamic rather than a static property of an event or object, and therefore one which is relative to time, place and social context.

In recognising its value in developing an understanding of tourists' experiences and motivation, this study offers a more refined version of this concept. The distinction between 'freedom-directed authenticity' and 'other-directed authenticity' is introduced in this chapter and used to gain a richer understanding of the differences between the five tourist types identified in this study. The evidence indicates that the Lord Byron and Cultural Heritage types seek and find the authentic 'other'. In this context, 'other' is taken to mean genuine and spontaneous contact with their hosts as well as the cultural heritage of the area. Although not concerned with the cultural authenticity of the host community, the narratives of the Heliolatrous show that they appreciate the 'real' beach, the 'real' sea, and the authentic good weather. On the other hand, Ravers and Shirley Valentines (albeit, in the latter case, in the shape of a romanticised and fantasised 'Greek god') are more likely to experience the erotic rather than the authentic.

This study's analysis differs from current sociological interpretations of tourism and tourists in the following ways. Firstly, it places an emphasis on the social construction of the touristic experience and secondly, it provides an interpretation of this phenomenon within a pluralistic theoretical model. Throughout this thesis it has been emphasised that the evidence from Chalkidiki suggests that tourism as an experience of

the 'other' and as a behaviour is variable. A two week vacation in Kalimeria has multiple meanings for participants.

The dominant interpretation that the isolated tourist can not achieve a meaningful experience of the visited host community is challenges in this thesis. It is suggested that we should not assume that the holiday experience is wholly determined by the tourist industry and its interests. The holiday activities undertaken by tourists and their holiday experiences reflect their motivations and expectations. We should not assume that these simply reflect the themes found in travel brochures.

Thus, we conclude that a two week vacation in Kalimeria has multiple meanings for participants. People are not 'cultural dopes', who encounter nothing but staged events. By injecting the participant's point of view, this study has shown that while Kalimeria is commercialised and has been gradually hybridised, nonetheless certain tourist types, in their own eyes, have a meaningful experience by mixing with the locals and tasting Greek hospitality. Participants define their cultural encounters as real and meaningful and these first-order constructs cannot be disregarded if we are to understand the touristic experience.

This study of tourism in Kalimeria underlines the problematic nature of our knowledge of this phenomenon. Its findings are represented as 'second order constructs', and as such, this ethnographic study does not make any claim to generality beyond the temporal and geographical location of the study itself. Nor is it claimed that the conclusion drawn from the ethnographic data gathered from eighty-six participants is representative, in a

statistical sense, of all tourists in all locations. Hence, considerable caution is required when attempting to extrapolate from the findings of this study. Hopefully, however, this study has enhanced our understanding of the touristic experience and will provide a stimulus to, and a platform for, further research.

APPENDIX A

The Historicity of Understanding Leading to the Interpretation of Tourists' Experiences

This Annex summarises the sequential phases of the iterative process of data collection, analysis, interpretation and testing which structured this research project.

a. Getting Started: Defining the Phenomenon (1992-1993)

- Thinking about the topic.
- Literature search: establishing aims, objectives and research questions.
- Deciding on a research strategy.
- Devising a program of field work.
- Conducting fieldwork (1993).
- Identifying in the existing literature useful theoretical approaches, ideas and concepts and using them to guide the first period of fieldwork, i.e:
 - ⇒ Cohen's 'institutionalised tourists';
 - ⇒ Boorstin's and MacCannell's work on tourists' expectations/motivations (e.g., authenticity vs pleasure as a general travel motive);
 - ⇒ The concept of authenticity.
- Analysis of ethnographic data. Preliminary findings indicated that the tourist is not a homogeneous category.

b. Redefining the Phenomenon (1993-1994)

- Redefining the term 'tourist'.
- Revising tourists' expectations, and experiences of a host community.
- Constructing a five-fold typology based on ethnographic data.
- Return to the literature and identify new concepts/ideas (e.g., Urry's and Cohen and Taylor's work on tourists' expectations and travel motives).
- Conducting fieldwork (summer 1994).
- Theoretical ideas/concepts found in existing studies guided fieldwork.
- Analysis of ethnographic data.
- Refining the concept of the touristic experience.
- Reformulating the original assumptions about the importance of authenticity in the touristic experience.

c. Refining Understanding (1994-1995)

- Revision of the five tourist types (authenticity seemed to be important to some tourists; encounters with hosts is a frequent topic in conversations with respondents).
- Return to literature in order to identify new concepts/ideas about tourist types and their holiday experiences (e.g. Pearce and Moscardo's work which makes a useful distinction between the experience of a visited place and the experience of its hosts).
- Conduct fieldwork (summer 1995).

- Study further cases of individual tourists.
- Analysis shows that not all new cases seem to fit the existing categories of tourists. Some instances appear to contradict it (e.g. some Heliolatrous tourists come into contact with hosts).
- Return to literature, identify new theoretical concepts/ideas (e.g., Goffman's work which played a key role in the conceptualisation and reformulation of the five categories of tourists).

d. Reaching Conclusions (1995-1996)

- Revisions of the five tourist types.
- Return to literature. Some early data confirm the findings of other studies (e.g., Pearce and Moscardo's study).
- Conduct fieldwork (summer, 1996).
- Study further cases of individual tourists. Fieldwork verifies the original notion that different tourist types consume different stories and experiences of Kalimeria.
- Construct and reconstruct the original types using the comparative method and 'inspection'. Comparison facilitated the understanding of similarities and differences amongst respondents in terms of motivation, holiday activities and 'consumption needs'.

e. Drawing Conclusions (1996-1997)

- Drawing conclusions related to the original objectives
- Assessing the ethnographic research.
- Evaluating the study's tourist typology.
- Reflecting on the dilemmas inherent in research of this kind.
- Accepting the view that all research is flawed.

f. Writing the Thesis (late 1997 - early 1999)

APPENDIX B

Data Collection: 1993 - 1996

a. First Stage of Data Collection (July - August 1993)

i) Location and Time of Observations

TABLE 1

TECHNIQUE	LOCATION	TIME OF DATA COLLECTION
Observation	Beach: zone A	Day time
	Beach: zone B	Day time
	Beach: zone C	Day time
	Taverna A	Evening
	Taverna E	Evening
	Bar D	Evening
	Bar P	Evening
	Cafe N	Mid-day and evening
	Cafe X	Mid-day and evening
	Restaurant V	Mid-day and evening
Participant Observation	Greek night, Taverna A	Sunday, July - August
	Greek night, Taverna E	Fri/Saturday, July - August
	Barbecue evening, Hotel D	Sunday (x 2), August

ii) Conversation-Based Techniques Used

TABLE 2

TECHNIQUE	PARTICIPANTS	RECORD TYPE	INTERVIEW LENGTH (Hours)	LOCATION
Conversational Interviews	British (x 18)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Taped (x 6) • Notes written during interview (x 12) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> } 0.5 - 2.0 } 0.5 - 2.0 } 0.5 - 2.0 	Bars D (x 2)/P (x 10); Hotel D (x 6)
	Italians (x 3)	Notes written immediately after interview x 3		Self-Catering K (x 3)
Follow-up Conversational Interviews	British (x 7)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Taped (x 3) • Notes written immediately after interview (x 4) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> } 0.5 - 1.0 } 0.5 - 1.0 } 0.5 - 1.0 	Taverna E (x 2) Hotel D (x 1) Self-Catering K (x 4)
Group Discussions	Austrians (x 22) [Group 1 = 10 Group 2 = 12]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> } Notes written immediately after interview (x 22) } Notes written immediately after interview (x 22) } Notes written immediately after interview (x 22) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> } 3.0 } 3.0 } 3.0 	Self-Catering K (x 22) [Barbecue parties]
Conversational Interviews	Permanent Residents (x 15)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Taped (x 10) • Notes written immediately after interview (x 5) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> } 1.0 - 1.5 } 1.0 - 1.5 } 1.0 - 1.5 	Kalimeria (x 15)
	Temporary Residents (x 20)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Taped (x 10) • Notes written immediately after interview (x 10) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> } 1.0 - 1.5 } 1.0 - 1.5 } 1.0 - 1.5 	Kalimeria (x 20)
Semi-structured Interview (x1)	President of the Village	Taped (x 1)	1.0	Kalimeria

b. Second Stage of Data Collection (July - August 1994)

i) Administration of Pilot Questionnaire

TABLE 3

SAMPLING FRAME	ADMINISTERED BY	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	TIME OF DATA COLLECTION
Hotel D Residents	Owner of Hotel D and Researcher	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• British (x 12)• Germans (x 4)	July - August
Self-Catering K Residents	Tourist Rep K	Austrians (x 6)	July - August
Hotel D Residents	Tourist Rep K	Number unknown: all completed questionnaires lost	July - August

ii) Conversation-Based Techniques Used

TABLE 4

TECHNIQUE	PARTICIPANTS	RECORD TYPE	INTERVIEW LENGTH (Hours)	LOCATION
Conversational Interviews	British (x 8)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Taped (x 4) • Notes written during interview (x 2) • Notes written immediately after interview (x 2) 	} } 0.5 - 1.0 }	Hotel D (x 4) Taverna E (x 2) Cafe N (x 2)
Follow-up Conversational Interviews	British (x 4)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Taped (x 1) • Notes written during interview (x 3) 	} } 1.0 }	Apartment K (x 1) Hotel D (x 1) Cafe N (x 2)
Semi-structured Interview	President of the Village	Notes written during interview (x 1)	0.5	President's Office

c. Third Stage of Data Collection (July - August 1995)

i) Location and Time of Observations

TABLE 5

TECHNIQUE	LOCATION	TIME OF DATA COLLECTION
Observation	Taverna E	Evening time
Participant observation	Organised visit to Meteora Monasteries	First Thursday in August (5.00am-9.00pm.)
	Organised visit to Sithonia peninsula	First Monday in August (8.00am-6.00pm)
	Organised visit to Thessaloniki (sightseeing and shopping)	Second Thursday in August (8.30am-5.00pm.)
	Greek night, Taverna A	Sundays, July - August
	Greek night, Taverna E	Fri/Saturdays, July - August
	African night entertainment, Bar H	Wednesday night (x 2), July - August
	Cabaret/Karaoke, Taverna A	Tuesdays/Thursdays (x 2) July - August
	Barbecue evenings, Hotel D	July (x)

ii) Conversation-Based Techniques Used

TABLE 6

TECHNIQUE	PARTICIPANTS	RECORD TYPE	INTERVIEW LENGTH (Hours)	LOCATION
Conversational Interviews	British (x 6) Austrian (x 2) Swedish (x 1) Yugoslav (x 2)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Notes written immediately after interview (x 8) Notes written during interview (x 3) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2.0 - 3.5 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Coach Trips [Meteora (x 2); Sithonia (x 2)] Taverna E (x 2) Beach (x 2) Cafe N (x 2) Bar P (x 1)
	Local Doctor (x 1) Local Pharmacist (x 1)	Notes written during interview (x 2)	2.0	Medical Centre (x 1) Pharmacy (x 1)
	British tourist worker (x 4)	Notes written during interview (x 4)	2.0 - 3.5	Bar D (x 2) Bar P (x 2)
	Tourist Reps [German (x 1); Greek (x 3)]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Taped (x1) Notes written during interview (x 3) 	0.5 - 3.5	Cafe X (x 2) Restaurant V (x 2)
	British (x 9) Swedish (x 1) Austrian (x 2)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Notes written during interview (x 9) Notes written after interview (x 3) 	0.5 - 4.0	Cafe X (x 2) Bar P (x 1) Hotel D (x 9)
	British (x 27)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Taped (x 7) Notes written during interview (x 10) and several parts taped Notes written during interview (x 10) 	2.0 - 2.5	Bar P (x 6) Hotel D (x 20) Cafe N (x 1)
Follow-up Conversational Interviews				
Semi-structured Interview				

iii) Details of the Self-Administered Questionnaire

TABLE 7

SAMPLING FRAME	ADMINISTERED BY	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	TIME OF DATA COLLECTION
Hotel D Residents	Owner of Hotel D	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • British (x 27) • Austrians (x 17) • Other (x 20) 	July - August 95
Self-Catering K Residents	Tourist Rep K and Researcher	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Austrians (x 20) • British (x 36) 	July - August 95

[320 questionnaires distributed. 120 completed questionnaires returned. 32% response rate.]

d. Fourth Stage of Data Collection (June - August 1996)

i) Conversation-Based Techniques Used

TABLE 8

TECHNIQUE	PARTICIPANTS	RECORD TYPE	INTERVIEW LENGTH (Hours)	LOCATION
Conversational Interviews	British (x 4)	} Notes written immediately after interview (x 8)	} 0.5 - 3.0	Coach trip to Petralona (x 2)
	German (x 2)			Boat trip to Marmara (x 2)
	Austrians (x 2)			Greek night, Taverna E (x 4)
	British Barman (x 1)	} Notes written during interview (x 1)	} 0.5	Bar P (x 1)
	Permanent Residents (x 5)			Bar D (x 2) Taverna E (x 3)
Semi-structured Interview	Tourist Reps [German (x 1); British (x 1)]	} Notes written immediately after interview (x 2)	} 0.5	Bar P (x 2)
	British (x 16)			Bar D (x 10) Bar P (x 6)
	President of the Village			President's Office

ii) Details of the Self-Administered Questionnaire

TABLE 9

SAMPLING FRAME	ADMINISTERED BY	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	TIME OF DATA COLLECTION
Hotel D Residents	Owner of Hotel D	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • British (x 37) • Germans/other nationals (x 7) 	June - August
Self-Catering K	Tourist Rep K	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • British (x 35) • Austrians (x 19) 	July - August July - August

[300 questionnaires distributed. 98 completed questionnaires returned. 33% response rate.]

APPENDIX C

Interview Guide

1. Date/time/place.
2. Details of Respondent (occupation/age/holiday companions).
3. General questions (e.g., Where are you from? Is this your first visit to Greece/K.....?).
4. Reasons for choosing Chalkidiki (e.g., What are your main reasons for choosing/ K..... ?)
5. Impressions of resort/village (e.g., What are your impressions of this place?).
6. Perceptions of place (e.g., How would you describe K.....?).
7. Holiday activities (e.g., What are your main holiday activities?).
8. Contacts (e.g., During your stay have you made friends with tourists/locals/ Greek holiday makers?).
9. Perceptions of Greek people (e.g., How do you find Greeks?).
10. Experiences (e.g., Any other pleasant/unpleasant experiences?).
11. Would you come again to Greece/Chalkidiki/K.....?
12. Thank you very much for taking part in this study.

APPENDIX D

Questionnaires

a. Pilot Questionnaire (1994)

I am conducting a survey on tourism in the village of K..... Greece as part of my doctoral degree, and I would be grateful if you would spare me a few minutes to answer some questions regarding your holiday experiences in p..... The information you provide is anonymous and it will be treated in the strictest confidence. It will be used for statistical purposes only.

(Please circle the appropriate category)

SECTION A

1) Age: Are you: under 25, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64, 65+

2) Sex: Male Female

3 Are you: Single
Married/Cohabiting
Separated/Divorced
Widow/er

4 Are you in: full-time employment
part-time employment
self-employed
not working
retired
semi-retired
student

5) What is your occupation?

6) What nationality are you?

7) Do you live in a: City
Town
Village
Other (please state)

SECTION B

(Please circle as appropriate)

1) Is this your first visit to Greece? Yes No

2) Is this your first visit to P.....? Yes No

If No..... go to Question 2

3) How often do you come here on holiday?

- a) Once a year
- b) More often

3) How did you learn about this holiday resort?

- a) From friends
- b) From travel brochures
- c) From TV
- d) Other sources. (Please state)

4) Are you holidaying

- a) On your own
- b) With friends
- c) With family/relatives
- d) Others. (Please state)

5) What kind of accommodation are you staying in?

- a) Hotel
- b) Self-catering apartment
- c) Other. (Please state)

6) How long do you intend to stay in P.....?

- 1 week
- 2-3 weeks
- 1 month
- Other (please state)

SECTION C

1) What would you say are your main holiday activities here?

2) Have you visited any other villages/towns/ historical monuments during your stay in P.....? Please specify

3) What other excursions are you planning to take /have you taken?

4) Approximately, how much time do you spend on the beach(swimming/sunbathing)?

5) What are your impressions of this holiday resort?

6) Have you had fun and lots of enjoyment in this resort?

- 7) Are you satisfied/dissatisfied with services and facilities? Have you any suggestions?
- 8) What would you say are the main attractions of this village?
- 9) During your stay, have you made any new friends with:
 - a) Other overseas tourists
 - b) Greek holiday makers
 - c) Locals
 - d) Other
- 10) Do you think you will continue any future form of contact with these friends
If yes, how?
- 11) How do you find the Greek people, in general?

SECTION D

- 1) Where do you have your meals?
- 2) Do you prefer to eat Greek food or English food, on holiday?
- 3) Have you been to a Greek Taverna which offers Greek entertainment (bouzouki music/dance)?
- 4) What are your favourite Greek dishes, wines/spirits?

SECTION E

(Please tick as appropriate)

- 1) What would you say were your main reasons for choosing P..... as your holiday resort?
 - a) to experience Greek village life
 - b) to get sunshine, to escape from bad weather
 - c) cheapness of the holiday resort
 - d) to have fun and entertainment, have a good time
 - e) to get away from everyday life
 - f) to experience nature
 - g) to make new friends
 - h) to do as one pleases, to be free
 - i) to pursue one's interests
 - k) other. Please state.
- 2) Did your experience of this Greek village match your expectation?
- 3) Would you describe P..... as an authentic Greek village?
 - a) If yes, please say why

b) If no, please say why

4) Did the promise of an experience of a traditional Greek village life, influence your choice of P..... as a holiday resort?

a) If Yes, please say why

b) If No, please say why

5) How would you say your holiday life here compares with everyday life at home?

a) Less structured 1 2 3 4 5 More structured

b) Less inhibited 1 2 3 4 5 More inhibited

6) Have you had any unpleasant experiences during your vacation?

7) Will you come again to this holiday resort?

If yes , please say why?

If no, please say why?

8) Would you come again to Greece?

Thank you very much for your help with my research

b. Questionnaire Used in 1995 and 1996

I am conducting a survey on tourism in K....., Chalkidiki, as part of my doctoral degree, and I would be grateful if you would spare me Some of your time to answer some questions regarding your holiday experiences in Greece. The information you provide is anonymous and it will be treated in the **strictest confidence**. It will be used for statistical purposes **only**.

SECTION A - general

(Please circle where appropriate)

- 1) Is this your first visit to Greece ?
 - a) Yes
(If yes..... go to Question 3)
 - b) No
(If no..... go to Question 2)
- 2) How often do you come to Greece on holiday?
 - a) Once a year
 - b) Twice a year
 - c) Other, please specify
- 3) Is this your first visit to this resort/village?
 - a) Yes
 - b) No
How many times have you been?
- 4) How did you learn about this holiday resort/village?
 - a) From friends/word of mouth
 - b) From travel brochures
 - c) From TV
 - d) Other sources, please specify
- 5) How did you book your holiday?
 - a) Via package holiday company
 - b) Independently (e.g. flight only)
 - c) Other, please specify
- 6) How are you holidaying?
 - a) On your own
 - b) With a friend/friends
 - c) With spouse/partner
 - d) Other, please specify
- 7) What type of accommodation are you staying in?
 - a) Hotel
 - b) Self-catering apartment

- c) Room only apartment
- d) Staying with friends
- e) Other, please specify

8) How long do you intend to stay in this resort/village?

- a) 1 week
- b) 2 weeks
- c) 3 weeks
- d) 1 month
- e) Other, please specify

SECTION B - your holiday

(please circle where appropriate)

1) What would you say are your main holiday activities

(i) during the day?

(ii) in the evening?

2) Have you visited any other villages/towns/historical monuments during your stay in this resort/village?

- a) Yes
What have you visited?
- b) No

3) What other daily excursions are you planning to take/have you taken?

4) Approximately, how much time do you spend on the beach (swimming/sunbathing)?

(Please circle 1 answer only)

- a) 1 hour
- b) 2-3 hours
- c) 4-5 hours
- d) 6 hours
- e) 7 hours
- f) More than 7 hours

5) What are your impressions of this holiday resort/village?

6) Have you had fun and lots of enjoyment in this resort/village?

- a) Yes
- b) No, please say why

7) Are you satisfied/dissatisfied with services and facilities in this resort/village?

- a) Yes
- b) No

Please state any suggestions for improvement?

- 8) What would you say are the main attractions of this resort/village?
- 9) During your stay, have you made friends with:-
a) Other tourists
b) Locals
c) Greek holiday makers
d) None (go to question 11)
- 10) Do you think you will continue any future form of contact with these friends?
a) Yes
 In what way?
b) No
- 11) How do you find the Greek people, in general?

SECTION C - your experiences

- 1) What would you say were your main reasons for choosing this resort/village for your holiday?

(please circle as many responses as you wish)

- a) to experience Greek village life
 - b) go get sunshine, to escape from bad weather
 - c) cheapness of the holiday resort
 - d) to have fun and entertainment, have a good time
 - e) to get away from everyday life
 - f) to experience nature
 - g) to make new friends
 - h) to do as one pleases, to be free
 - i) to pursue one's interests
 - k) other, please state
- 2) Before you came to your resort/village, were you promised an experience of traditional Greek village life?
a) Yes
 How were you promised this?
b) No
- 3) Did your experience of this Greek resort/village match your expectation?
a) Yes
 Please state how?

b) No
 Please state why?
- 4) Would you describe your resort/village as an authentic Greek village?
a) Yes
 Please state in what way it is authentic

- b) No
Please state why

5) Does this village/resort offer tourists the opportunity to do as one pleases?

- a) Yes (please state how)

- b) No (please state why)

6) Did you feel less inhibited here than at home?

- a) Yes
Please state why

- b) No

7) Would you say you felt free to act on your impulses and feelings?

- a) Yes ,in what way?

- b) No, why not?

8) Did you feel safe travelling in Greece?

- a) All the time
- b) Most of the time
- c) Hardly ever
- d) Not at all, (why not?)

9) Have you had any unpleasant experiences during your vacation?

If any, please cite briefly below

10) Will you come again to this holiday resort?

- a) Yes
- b) No, please state why not

11) Would you come again to Greece?

- a) Yes
- b) No please state why not

SECTION D - about you

(please circle where appropriate)

1) Which age band are you : Under 25 26-34 35-44 45-54 55-64
65+

2) Which sex are you : Male Female

3) Are you :

- a) Single
- b) Married/Cohabiting
- c) Separated/divorced
- d) Widow/er

- 4) Are you:
- a) in full-time employment
 - b) in part-time employment
 - c) unemployed
 - d) retired
 - e) semi-retired
 - f) student
 - g) other, please specify

5) What is your occupation?

6) What nationality are you?

- 7) Do you live in a
- a) City
 - b) Town
 - c) Village
 - d) Other, please specify

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR INVALUABLE HELP WITH MY RESEARCH

Note: Please feel free to make any other comments on your holiday experiences in Chalkidiki

APPENDIX E

Techniques Used For Organising Data

a Ethnographic Coding Scheme

1. Interactions between tourists and Greeks (locals/Greek employees in tourist related services; Greek holidaymakers; romances/friendships/conflict).
2. Activities during the day/evening (regular/specific; organised/non-organised; isolated/private; involvement/participation in local community).
3. Tourists' perspectives on setting i.e., how they understand and perceive Kalimeria: authentic/typical Greek village; unspoiled/primitive; commercialised/modern/sophisticated; a place to do your own thing).
4. Tourists perspectives on their hosts/other tourists.
5. Special events (Greek evenings nights - organised/spontaneous).
6. Tourists motives (reasons for choosing Kalimeria).
7. Definition of roles: outsiders /strangers; insiders/friends/members of community.

b Techniques Used

1. Reading and annotating significant sections.
2. Categorising groups of data.
3. Labeling passages with significant words.
4. Linking patterns and themes.
5. Differentiating and clustering themes and placing them into five scenarios.
6. Comparing with theories.
7. Selecting data for illustrating the study's argument.
8. Producing an account of the varieties of tourists experiences.

APPENDIX F

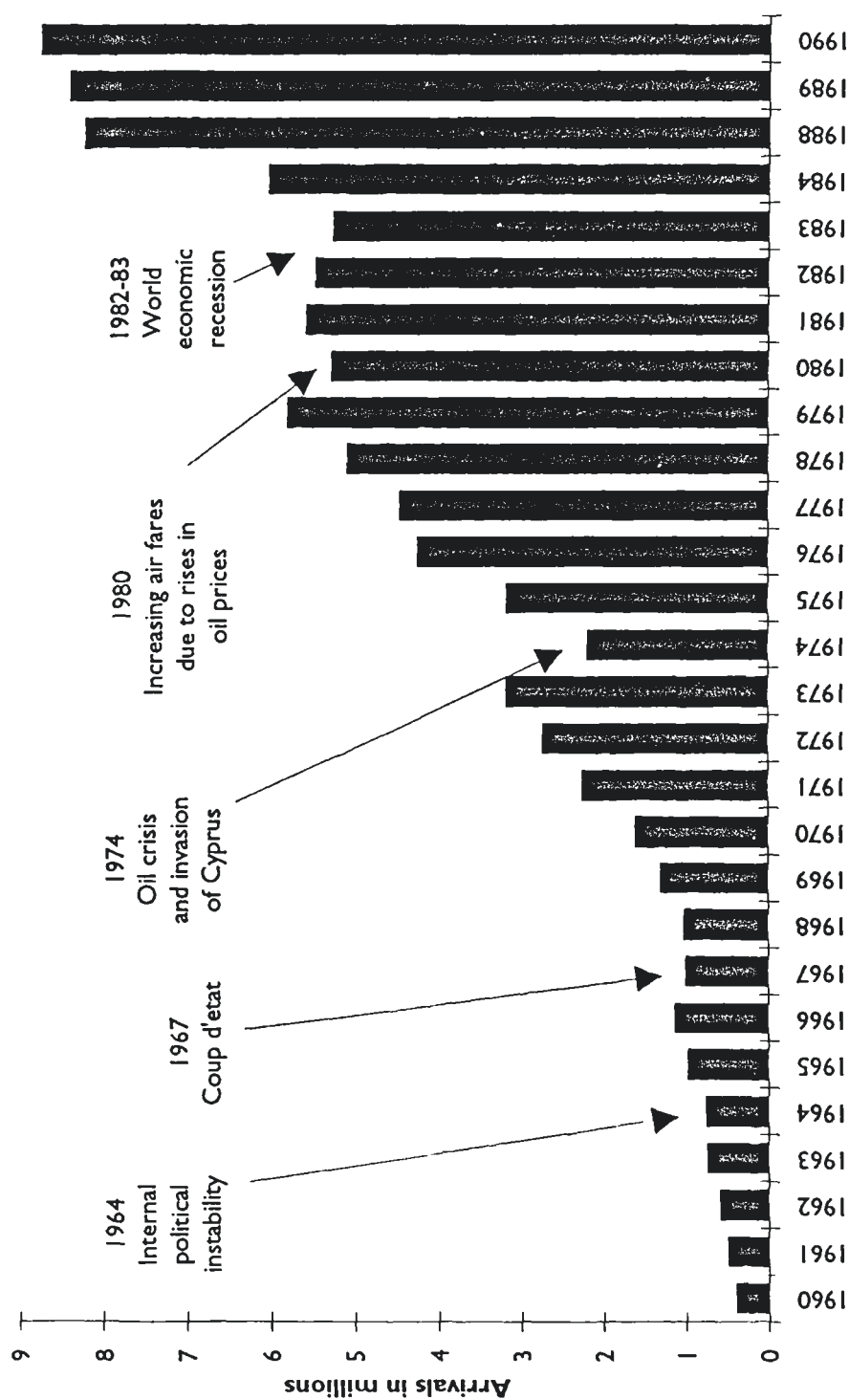
A Brief History of Modern Greece

1821-1829	Greek war of independence.
1833	The Greek kingdom was established with Prince Otto of Bavaria as king. Under the protection of Britain, France and Russia.
1843	Uprising, demanding a Constitution.
1862	King Otto deposed.
1863	Prince George of Denmark becomes the new King. Britain returns the Ionian Islands to Greece.
1922	Greek-Turkish war in Asia Minor. Greece lost the war. Nearly two million became refugees.
1924-1935	There was a Republican interregnum known as the National Schism.
1936	The Monarchy was restored under the right wing dictatorship of General Metaxas and the help of the army.
1940	The Italians and the Germans invaded Greece.
1946	The Monarchy was restored once again with the help of the British. Britain exercised a major influence on the affairs of Greece as the result of the tentative definition of spheres of influence in the Balkans which assigned Greece to Great Britain.
1946-1949	As a result of this restoration, there was a Civil war between the Communists and the Royalists. Britain and the USA supported the Royalists.
1967	Military coup. Dictatorship until July 1974.
1974	Turkish invasion of Cyprus. Military Junta collapsed. A referendum in December 1974 rejected the Monarchy. Greece became a Republic.
1981	Greece joined the EEC.

APPENDIX G

Foreign Tourist Arrivals in Greece: 1960 - 1990

(EOT, Statistical Year Book of Greece, Athens)



Map of Chalkidiki



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